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ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY;

INCLUDING

NUMEROUS ROYAL LETTERS:

FROM AUTOGRAPHS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AND

ONE OR TWO OTHER COLLECTIONS.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

HENRY ELLIS, F.R.S. Sec. S.A.

KEEPER OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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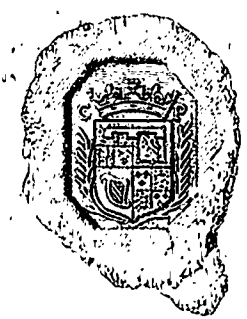

Charles R

Seal and Signature to the Carte Blanche which Prince Charles sent to the Parliament to save his Father's Life.

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ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY.

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LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH

CONTINUED.

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ETC.

LETTER CCXIX.

Lord Burghley to Sir Francis Walsingham, upon the difference of opinion as to where the Queen of Scots should be tried.

[CALIG. C. IX. fol. 320. *Orig.*]

*** The Cottonian Manuscript Calig. c. IX. fol. 328. preserves a minute of the Letter which Queen Elizabeth sent to the Scottish Queen to prepare herself for her Arraignment, dated from Windsor Castle October the 6th. 1586: as well as of another letter from the Queen to Lord Burghley and Secretary Walsingham, upon some steps to be taken preparatory to the Trial. From the following Letter it will be seen that the Trial had been finally agreed upon long before; and that at one time Hertford Castle was the place fixed upon for it to be held at. Lord Burghley was evidently in favor of bringing the Scottish Queen to Hertford: and as will be seen from the following Memorial, the nobility and gentry of the different Counties, were appointed, who were to attend in relays to conduct the removal from Fotheringay:

" Sept. 8. 1586. A Memorial of matters with the Queen's Majesty concerning the Scotts Queen.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 49. *art.* 68.]

" To bee resolved by her Majesty.

I. To what place the Queen of Scots shal bee removed { Fotheringay or Hertford Castell.

II. About what time the Counsel & Noble men shal assemble to hear the Scots Queens cause.

" III. At what time the judgment of the Noblemen shal bee affirmed by Parlement.

Hereupon order is to bee given
for execution of the Resolutions:

" I. Upon the firste, S^r^ Amyce Paulett is to bee warned to put things in order for her remove, without giving to her, or to any of hers, any warning longer than two or three dayes. Not shewing to her to what place certain shee shall go, but the space of two or three dayes journey. Warning to bee given to certain principal Gentlemen to attend with a number of Servants for that purpose from Shire to Shire.

" II. To have Letters sent severally to all noble men that are absent, to come to London about a day certain: or rather to the Court.

" III. According to the Queens resolution to have either a new Summons presentlie, or els to expect the 14^th^ of November.

" The Names of the Gentlemen appoynted to attend the Queen of Scots in her Remove.

" Out of *Staffordshire*,	By *Warwickshire*.	By *Northamptonshire*.
S^r^. Walter Aston.	S^r^. Thomas Lucy.	S^r^. John Spencer.
Thomas Trentham.	S^r^. Fulk Grevil.	S^r^. Richard Knightly.
Thomas Grisseley.	S^r^. Francis Willoughby.	S^r^. Edward Montagu.
Edwardus Aston.	S^r^. John Harrington.	Anthony Mildmay.
Edw. Littleton.	William Boughton.	Edward Griffyn.
Walter Leveston.	Edward Boughton.	Thomas Brudnell.
John Bowes.	John Shuckborough.	Thomas Androos.
Richard Bagott.		Bartholo. Tate.
		Edward Cope.

" By a part of *Buckinghamshire*.	By *Bedford*.	Into *Hertford*.
Lord Grey.	Earl of Kent.	S^r^. John Cutts.
S^r^. John Goodwyn.	Lord S^t^. John.	S^r^. Henry Cock.
Robert Drury.	Lord Cheyne.	S^r^. John Brocket.
Robert Dormer.	Tho. Ratcliff.	S^r^. Philip Butler.
William Hawtry.		Henry Capel.
Griffyn Hampden.		George Horsey.
Thomas Pygot.		Edward Verney.
		Tho. Fanshaw.
		Tho. Sadler.
		Car. Morysin.
		Edw. Bashe."

SIR

WE ar occupyed with many offers to and fro in words, but I can not certefy you what shall be determyned. Yesterday the Towre was flatly refused, and instead of Fothryngay, which we thought too far off, Hertford was named, and next to the Tower thought metest; and so for a tyme both lyked and mislyked for nearnes to London. Nevertheless I hope it will be so concluded this daye. And so I will wryte to S^r^ Walter Mildmay for to stey brewyng and provisions of coale, which by my last I required hym to provyde.

The Queen hath agreed uppon nine Erles besid Counsellors, and uppon eight or nine Barons to heare the cause. Hertford shall be metar for such an assemble than Fothryngay can be. Grafton was also named, but unmete.

We styck uppon Parlement, which hir Ma^ty^ mislyketh to have but we all persist, to make the borden better born and the world abrod better satisfyeed.

Naw offred on Tewsday to have oppened much, and in stead therof, he hath only wrytten to have a pardon as yesterday because it was the Queen's byrth day. I do send to M^r^ Mills to challeng hym, and to warn hym to be sent to the Tower if he do not otherwise acquit hymself of his promis.

I thynk Curle will be more oppen, and yet Naw hath amply confessed by his hand wrytyng to have

wrytten by the Queen's endityng and hir own minut y^t^ long lettre to Babyngton: but he wold quallefy his mastris fault in that Babyngton provoked hir therto, and Morgan prevaled hir to renew hir intelligence with Babyngton.

Yours as.

W. BURGHLEY.

8 Sept. 1586.

To the right honorable
S^r^ Francise Walsyngham
Knight pr. Secretary
to hir Ma^ty^.

LETTER CCXX.

Sir Amyas Paulet to Secretary Walsingham, upon the seizing of the Queen of Scots money, and the dispersal of her Servants.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. IX. fol. 293. *Orig.*]

SIR

I DID forbeare, accordinge to your direction signified by your Lettres of the iiij^th^ of this present, to proceede to the execution of the contents of M^r^ Waades lettres unto you, for the dispersing of this Ladyes unnecessarye servants, and for the seasing of her money; wherin I was bold to wryte unto you my simple opinion (althoughe in vayne as yt nowe falleth out) by

my lettres of the vijth of this instant, w^{ch} I doubt not are with you before this tyme. But upon the receipt of youre Lettres of the 5th, which came not to my hands untill the 8th in the eveninge, by reason as did appeare by an indorsement, that they had bene mistaken and were sent back to Wyndsor (after that they were alreadye entered into the waye towards me): I considered that being accompanied onlye with my own servants, yt might be thought that they would be entreated to say as I would commaund them, and therefore I thought good for my better discharge in these moneymatters to crave the assistance of M^{r} Richard Bagott, who repayringe unto me the next morninge, we had accesse to this Queen, whome we found in her bed troubled after the old manner with a defluxion which was fallen down into the syde of her neck, and had bereft her of the use of one of her hands. Unto whome I declared that upon occasion of her former practises, doubtinge least she would persist therein by corrupting under hand some badd members of this state, I was expreslye commaunded to take her money into my hands, and to rest aunswerable for yt when yt shalbe required; advising her to delyver the sayd money unto me with quietnes. After many denyalls, manye exclamacions, and manye bitter woords against you (I say nothing of her rayling agaynst my self), with flatt affirmacion that her Ma^{te} might have her bodye but her hart she should never have, refusing to delyver the kaye of her Ca-

binet, I called my servants, and sent for barres to breake open the dore, whereupon she yelded, and causing the dore to be opened. I found there in the cofers, mencioned in Mr Waades remembraunce, fyve roles of Canvas contayning fyve thowsand French crownes, and two lether baggs, whereof the one had in gold one hundred and fower pounds two shillings, and the other had three pounds in silver, which bagg of silver was lefte with her, affirminge that she had no more money in this howse, and that she was indebted to her servants for their wages. Mr Waades note maketh mention of three roles lefte in Curles chamber, wherein no doubt he was misreckened, which is evident, aswell by the testimonies and oathes of divers persons, as also by probable conjectures, so as in trewth he found onlye two roles, everye of which contayneth one thowsand Crownes, which was this Queen's guifte to Curles wyfe at her mariage.

There is found in Nau's chamber, in a Cabinet, a chayne of gold worth by estimacion one hundred pounds, and in moneye in one bagg nyne hundred pounds, in a second bagg two hundred fyftye nyne pounds, and in a silke purse two hundred fower score and sixe pounds eightene shillings. All the foresayd parcells of money are bestowed in baggs, and sealed by Mr Richard Bagott, savinge fyve hundred pounds of Nau's money which I reserve in my hands for the use of this howshold, and may be repayd at London where her Mate shall appoynt out of the mo-

ney receaved latelye by one of my servants out of the Exchecker. I feared least this people might have dispersed this money in all this tyme, or have hidden the same in some secret corners, for doubt whereof I had caused all this Queen's familye, from the highest to the lowest, to be garded in the severall places where I found them, so as yf I had not found the money with quietnes I had bene forced to have searched first all their lodgings, and then their owne persons. I thanke God with all my hart, as for a singuler blessing, that yt falleth out so well, fearing least a contrarye succesee might have moved some hard conceipts in her Majestie.

Touchinge the dispersing of this Queen's servants, I trust I have done so much as may suffice to satisfye her Ma^tie for the tyme, wherein I could not take any absolute course untill I heard againe from you; partlye because her Ma^te by M. Waades lettre doth referr to yo^r consideracion to returne such as shalbe discharged to their severall dwellings and countreyes, wherein as it seemeth you have forgotten to delyver your opinion; partlye for that I have as yet receaved no aunswere from you of yo^r resolution upon the viewe of the Scottish familye sent unto you, what persons you do appoynt to be dismissed: onlye this I have done, I have bestowed all such as are mentioned in this bill inclosed in three or fower severall roomes as the same may suffice to contayne them, and have or-

dered that they shall not come out of their chambers, and that their meate and drinke shalbe brought unto them by my servants. Yt may please you to advertise me by yo^r next Lettres in what sort, and for what course, I shall make their pasports, as also yf they shall say that they are unpayd of their wages[a], what I shall do therein. Yt is sayd that they have bene accustomed to be payd of their wages at Christmas for the whole Yeare. Her Ma^ts charge wilbe somewhat diminished by the departure of this people, and my charge by this occasion wilbe the more easye, but the persons, all saving Bastian, are such selye and simple soules, as there was no great cause to feare their practises, and upon the ground I was of opinion in my former Lettres that all this dismissed trayne should have folowed their M^ris untill the next remove and there to have bene discharged upon the sudden, for doubt that the sayd remove might be delayed, yf she did feare or expect any hard measure.

Others shall excuse their foolishe pitye as they may, but for my part I renounce my part of the joyes of heaven yf in any thinge that I have sayd, wryten, or done, I have had any other respect then the furtheraunce of her Majestie's service, and so I shall most earnestlye praye you to affirme for me, as likewise for the not seasinge of the money by M^r Manners, the other

[a] A marginal note says, "This Ladye hath good store of money at this present in the Fr. Amb. hands."

commissioners, and myself. I trust Mr. Waade hath aunswered in all humble dewtye for the whole companye, that no one of us did so much as thinke that our Commission reaching onlye to the papers, we might be bold to touch the money, so as there was no speach of yt at all to my knowledge, and as you knowe I was no commissioner in this searche, but had my hands full at Tyxhall. Discreete servants are not hastye to deale in greate matters without warrant, and especiallye, where the cause is such as the delay of yt caryeth no daunger.

Yor advertisement of that happye remove hath bene greatlye comfortable unto me, I will not say in respect of my self because my private interest hath no measure of comparison with her Mats. safetye, and with the quiet of this Realme. God graunt a happye and speedye yssue to these good and godlye Counsells. And so I committ you to his mercifull protection. From Chartley the xth of September 1586.

Your most assured poore frend

A. POULET.

My servant repayring to my L. Treasourer according to yor commaundement found his L. readye to enter into his coche towards the Court, so as he sayd he could not wryte, but commaunded hym to signifye unto me that I should prepare to remove with all speede, and that I should put all things in good safetye. His

L. asked hym yf you had wryten, and yt seemed that he thought you had wryten unto me touching this remove, wherein as yet I have heard nothing.

LETTER CCXXI.

Lord Burghley to Secretary Davison, upon the Queen of Scot's Defence; and upon the delay of passing Sentence upon her.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. IX. fol. 433. *Orig.*]

M^r^. Secretary, yesternight, vppon recept of your lettre dated on Thursday, I wrote what was thought wold be this dayes work. This Queen of the Castell was content to appeare ageyn afor us in publyck to be hard, but, in truth, not to be hard for hir defence, for she cold say nothyng but negatyvely, that the poynts of the lettres that concerned the practise against the Q. Ma^ts^ person was never by hir wrytten, nor of her knolledg, the rest, for invasion, for scapyng by force, she sayd she wold nether deny nor affirm. But hir intention was, by long artificiall speches, to move pite, to laye all blame uppon the Queen's Majesty or rather uppon the Counsell, that all the troobles past did insew, avowyng hir resonable offers and our refusalls; and in this hir speches I did so encounter hir with reasons out

of my knolledg and experience, as she had not that avantage she looked for; as I am assured the Auditory did fynd hir case not piteable, hir allegations untrew; by which means gret debate fell yesternight very long, and this day renewed with gret stomakyng. But we had gret reason to prorog our session which is rone[a] till the 25th and so we of the Counsell will be at the Court the 22th. And we fynd all persons here in Commission fully satisfyed, as, by hir Mats order judgment will be gyven at our next metyng, but the record will not be provided in v or vj. dayes, and that was on[b] cause, why if we shuld have proceded to judgment we shuld have tarryed v or vj. dayes more; and suerly the Country cold not beare it, by the wast of bread specially, our Company being ther and within vj myle, above ij. M horssmen: but by reson of hir Mats lettre we of hir Counsell, that is the L. Chanc. Mr Rich, Mr Secr. and my self only, did procure this prorogation for the other ij. causes.

And so knowyng that by my Lord of Cumberland hir Maty shall, soner than this lettre can come, understand the course of the procedyng, I will end.

xv Octob. 1586 at Burghley

Your assured lov. frend

W. BURGHLEY.

To the right honorable
my verie good frend
Mr Secretarie Davison.

[a] run. [b] one.

LETTER CCXXII.

King James VI^th^ of Scotland to M^r^ Archibald Douglas, Octob. 1586, expressing disdain at the enemies of his Mother.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. IX. fol. 482. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

RESERVE up youre self na langer in the earnist dealing for my Mother, for ye have done it to long; and thinke not that any youre travellis can do goode, if hir lyfe be taikin; for then adeu uith my dealing with thaime that are the speciall instrumentis thairof. And thair fore gif ye looke for the contineuance of my fauoure touartis you, spaire na painis nor plainnes in this case, bot reade my lettir wrettin to Williame Keith, and conforme your selfe quhollie to the contentis thairof; and in this requeist lett me reape the fruictis of youre great credit thaire, ather nou or neuer. Fairuell.

JAMES R.

LETTER CCXXIII.

Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester, respecting Sir Philip Sydney's debts.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA C. X. fol. 44. *Orig.*]

*** A Letter from Lord Buckhurst to the Earl of Leicester upon Sir Philip Sydney's death, is printed by Collins in the Sidney Papers, and again by D^r^. Zouch in his Life of Sir Philip Sydney.

Among the Cottonian Manuscripts, also, there are several unpublished Letters which speak of that event.

From a Letter of Sir Thomas Heneage to Lord Leicester dated from the Court Oct. 13th. 1586, it appears that Queen Elizabeth, as soon as she heard of Sir Philip Sydney's hurt, sent a special messenger with Letters "in her own hand, to comfort him, and to bring her word again how he did as soon as possible" [a].

Secretary Davison, in another Letter to Lord Leicester from the Court at Richmond, Nov. 4th 1586, says, "My singuler good Lord, her Majestie was so much afflicted with sorrow when she dispatched Mr. Gorge, for the loss of her dear servant and your Lordship's dearest nephew Sir Ph. Sydney, as she forgatt to touch some things in those her Lettres which, since, it hath pleased her I should remember unto you" [b].

The following Letter, or rather portion of a Letter, discloses what the Editor believes is not told elsewhere, and by Sir Francis Walsingham too, his father in law; that Sir Philip Sydney died deeply involved in debt.

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* * * * * *

"I HAVE caused Sir Philip Sydney's Wyll to be consydered of by certeyn lerned in the lawes, and I fynd the same imperfect touching the sale of his land for the satisfaction of his poore credytors, which I doo assure your L. dothe greatly afflict me, that a gentleman that hathe lyved in so unspotted reputatyon, and had so great care to see all men satisfied, shoold be subject to the outcrye of his creditors. His goods will not suffyce to awnswere a thirde part of his debtes already knowen. This hard estate in this noble gentleman makethe me staye to take order for his buryall untyll your Lordship's retorne. I doe not see how the same can be perfourmed with that solempnitye that apperteyns, without the utter undoing of his credytors,

[a] MS. Galba c. x. fol. 63. [b] Ibid. fol. 41.

which is to be without conscyence. Sorrye I am to troble your Lordship with these unplesaunt matters, but that necessytye movethe me therto. And so hoping to see your Lordship here, I most humbly take my leave. At Barne Ellmes the v^th^ of November 1586.

Y^r^ Lordship's to command

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

COLLINS, however, in the Sidney papers, informs us, that soon after Sir Philip's death, the States of Zealand became suitors to Queen Elizabeth and his family, that they might have the honor of burying his body at the public expense of their Government: which request, he says, was not permitted, The QUEEN, in regard to his great worth and accomplishments GIVING ORDER FOR HIS BURIAL AT HER OWN EXPENSE. The Funeral was placed under the management of Sir Francis Walsyngham[a].

It is a little whimsical, in the preceding Letter, that Walsingham should have expressed himself so much afflicted at Sir Philip Sydney's insolvency. According to Welwood's account, his affliction for himself should have been greater: for he died, four years afterwards, so poor, that his friends were obliged to bury him privately in the night, for fear his body should be arrested for debt.

[a] Sir Philip Sydney was buried at St. Paul's, February the 16th. 1587. His Funeral Procession, drawn and invented by Thomas Lant gent. one of his Servants, and engraved by Theodore de Bry, was published in 1586: and is one of the rarest Books of English Prints. The Copy now in the British Museum was purchased by M^rs^. S. S. Banks at the sale of M^r^. Gough's Library for £39 16s. 0d.

The Volume which the Procession forms, is an oblong folio, and consists of thirty Plates.

Plate I. in the centre of the upper part, has a portrait of Lant the inventor of the Work: with tabular Accounts in Latin and English of the life, death, and funeral of Sir Philip: the lower part of the plate represents the black Pinnace which brought the body to England: on the right, there is a map of a portion of the Kentish coast, with the line of the Thames extending to London, and another representation, in small, of the black Pinnace entering the river.

Plate II. apparently represents the interior of the oldest part of S^t^. Paul's, with the Cenotaph or Hearse adorned with escutcheons; followed by another tabular Account in Latin and English, which is in reality the title-page to the Procession. To the right of the tablet are the two first figures of the Procession, viz. "Conductors of the Poor." The quality of the mourners is designated throughout, in titles both in Latin and English.

Plate III. represents "So many poore men as he was years old, viz. 32."

Plate IV. beside a continuation of the line of poor men, represents "the Officers of his foote in the Lowe Countreys." "Sergeants of the Band." "Fyffes and Drommes, playing softely."

The Harleian Manuscript, Num. 285. contains two Letters from the Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham; one evidently alluding to Sir Philip Sydney's death; and lamenting "that any fresh visitation should come to that House." Sir Philip Sydney had lost both his father and mother but a short time preceding. The other is expressed in terms of great tenderness toward Sir Philip Sydney's widow. A passage from this Letter, upon a different subject, will be quoted presently.

Plate V. "Ensigne trayled, by Hen. Whitten gent. Lieutenant of foote, Tho. Shotboult gent. Officers of his Horse. Two Corporals. Trompetts. Guidon trayled, by Will. Boulsted gent."

Plate VI. "Edw. Crypps gent. Lieutenant of his Horse. Conductors to his Servants. The Standerd caryed by Rych. Gwyn gent. His Gentlemen and Yeomen, servants, to the number of 60."

Plates VII. VIII. "Gentlemen and Yeomen."

Plate IX. "Doctor James, Will. Kelle, Phisition and Chirurgion. Griffin Maddox gent. Steward of his House. Esquiers of his kindred and frends to the number of 60."

Plates X. XI. "Esquiers" continued.

Plate XII. "Esquiers" continued. "Knights of his kyndred and frends, in number 15." The following are named: "Sr. George Farmer; Sr. George Bowser; Sr. William Hatton; Sr. Hen. Unton; Sr. Will. Knowles; Sr. Tho. Wingfeld."

Plate XIII. "Sr. Rob. Staplton; Sr. Edw. Waterhouse; Sr. Tho. Parrot; Sr. Francis Drake; Sr. Valentine Browne: Sr. Will. Harbert. The Preacher and Chapleines. The penon of his Armes, caryed by James Skidmore gent. The horse for the field led by a footman; a page rydinge, trayling a broken lance, Henry Davers."

Plate XIV. "The barbed Horse" caparisoned with cloth of gold, "ledd by a footman; a page rydinge, carying a battle axe, the head downwards, Daniel Batchiler. Yeomen Ushers to the Heralds. The great banner carried by Hen. Whyte gent."

Plate XV. "William Seager, alias Portcullis; Humfrey Hales, alias Blewmantle; Nicholas Paddy, alias Rouge Dragon; Richard Lea, alias Richmond; Robert Glover, alias Somerset; Robert Cooke, alias Clarencieulx Kynge of Armes. Gentleman Usher to the corpse, Mr. Henry Lynley."

Plate XVI. "The Corpse, covered with velvet, and caryed by fourteen of his yeomen. The corners of the paule houlden by four gentlemen, his frends. The Banrolls caryed by four of his near kynredd." Pall-bearers; Mr. Thomas Dudley, Mr. Foulke Gryvell, Mr. Edw. Wootton, Mr. Edw. Dyer. Bearers of the banrolls; Mr. Henry Sidney, Mr. Edm. Packenham, Mr. Edm. Walsingham, Mr. Wil. Sidney.

Plate XVII. "Sr. Rob. Sidney, chief mourner." "Mourners assistants, were fower Knights of his kindred, and two Gentlemen, the one his kinsman the other his youngest brother: Mr. Tho. West, Sr. Will. Fitzwilliams, Sr Joh. Harrington, Sr. Hen. Harrington, Sr. Henry Goodyear, Mr. Tho. Sidney." "Gentlemen Ushers to the Noblemen."

Plate XVIII. "Earles and Barons of his kindred and frendes; Comes Huntingdoniæ, Comes Leicestriæ, Comes Penbrochiæ, Comes Essexiæ, Baro de Willowby, Baro de North": on horseback.

Plate XIX. "The States of Holland which were then in England: Mr. Menyn, Mr. Valke, Mr. Neuelt, Doctour Sylla, Mr. Caminga, Mr. Ortell, Mr. Burgrave": on horseback.

Plate XX. "The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and Sherifs of London, riding in purple." "Sword-bearer." "Sr. Geo. Barnes Lo. Maior."

Plate XXI. "Aldermen; Knights."

Plate XXII. "Other Aldermen."

LETTER CCXXIV.

King James VI^th^ of Scotland to Queen Elizabeth; urgent in behalf of his mother.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. IX. fol. 146. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

*** Very little of the pedantry of James's ordinary manner is to be found in this Letter. His remonstrance to Elizabeth is manly: his reasoning just. Affection and anxiety for a mother overcame his usual style: and we have here the best of all his epistolary compositions.

MADAME & dearest sister, if ye coulde have knouin quhat divers thochtis have agitat my mynde since my directing of Uilliame Keith unto you for the sollisting of this matter quhairto nature and honoure so

Plate XXIII. "Other Citizens, called the Companye of Grocers, in their livery, to the number of 120."

Plate XXIV. "Citizens of London practised in armes, about 300, who marched by three and three in manner as followeth, viz. In the foreward the Capt. Lieutenant, and three Targiters. Muskiters and Rancks. Drums and Fyfe. Small Shott twenty rancks. Pykes twenty rancks. Halberts four rancks. Chief Officers of the Field. Drummes, Fyfe, and Ensigne. In the rereward; Halberts three rancks. Pykes fifteen rancks. Drum and Fyfe. Small Shott fifteen rancks, and Muskiteers three rancks." The Capt. Boy. Capt. M^r^. Tho. Smyth. Lieut. M^r^. Allen Lewis. Trumpeters.

Plate XXV. "Muskiters." "Drummes and Fyfe."

Plate XXVI. "Hargibuzires."

Plate XXVII. "Pikes trayling."

Plate XXVIII. "Halberdires."

Plate XXIX. "Drummes and Fyfe." "Ensigne."

Plate XXX. "Sergeants of the Bande." There is then a Tablet bearing an inscription in English only: from which it appears that Sir Ph. Sydney's body was carried from the Minorites without Aldgate, along the chief streets of the City to St. Paul's. Of the Mourners, every Gentleman had a man; every Knight, two; some Noblemen, twelve; some more, some less; as also sundry English Captains of the Low Countries, with divers other Gentlemen who came voluntarily, and are not expressed in the Work. The whole number amounted to about seven hundred persons. The soldiers in the Church Yard after the close of the ceremony fired a double volley.

Sir Philip Sydney's Funeral was followed in England by a public mourning; supposed to be the first instance of the kind for a private person. Indeed so generally was it observed, that we are told, for many months after, it was accounted indecent for any gentleman of quality to appear, at court or city, in any light or gaudy apparel.

greatly and unfeynedly bindis and obleisis me; if, I say ye kneu quhat divers thochtis I have bene in and quhat just greif I hadd, ueying deeply the thing it self if so it shoulde proceid, as Godd forbidd, quhat euentis micht follow thair upon, quhat number of straitis I uolde be dreuin unto, and amongst the rest hou it micht perrell my reputation amongst my subjectis. If thaise thingis, I yett say againe, uayre knouin unto you, then [doubt] I not but ye wold so farr pittie my cace as it uolde easely mak you at the first to resolue youre ouin[a] best into it. I doubt greatlie in quhat facon to uritt[b] in this purpois, for ye haue all readdie takin sa euill with my playnness, as I feare [if] I shall persist in that course ye shall rather be exasperattet to passionis in [rea]ding the uordis, then by the plainness thairof be persuadit to consider richtlie the simpill treuth. Yett justlie prefferring the deutie of ane honest freind to the suddaine passionis of one quho, hou soone thay be past can uyslier uey[c] the reasons than I can sett thaime doune, I haue resoluid in feu uordis and plaine to gif you [my] freindly and best advyce, appealing to youre rypest judgement to discerne thereupon. Quhat thing Madame can greatlier touche me in honoure, that bothe [is] a King and a Sonne, then that my nearest neihboure being in straittest freindshippe with me, shall rigorouslie putt to death a free

[a] own. [b] fashion to write. [c] wiselier weigh.

souueraigne Prince, and my naturall mother, alyke in estaite and sexe to hir that so uses her, albeit subject I grant to a harder fortoune, and touching hir nearlie in proximitie of bloode. Quhat law of Godd can permitt that justice shall strikke upon thaime quhome he hes appointid supreame dispensatouris of the same under him; quhom he hath callid Goddis, and thairfore subjectid to the censoure of none in earth; quhose anointing by Godd can not be defylid be man, unreuenged by the authoure thairof; quho being supreme, and immediatt lieutenant of Godd in Heaven, can not thairfoire be judgit by thaire æquallis in earth. Quhat monstruouse thinge is it that Souueraigne Princes thaime selfis shoulde be the exemple giveris of thaire ouen sacred diademes prophaining. Then quhat shoulde moue you to this forme of proceiding, (supponin the uorst, quhiche in goode faith I looke not for at youre handis) honoure or profeitt? Honoure uaire it to you, to spaire quhen it is least lookid for. Honoure uaire it to you, (quhich is not onlie my freindlie aduyce but my earnist suite) to tak me and all other Princes in Europe eternally beholdin unto you in granting this my so reasonable request; and not (appardon I pray you my free speaking) to putt Princes to straittis of honoure quhair throuch youre generall reputatione and the universall (all most) mislyking of you, may daingerouslie perrell both in honoure and

utillitie youre persoune and estate. Ye knou Madame uell aneuch, hou small difference Cicero concludis to be betuixt *utile* and *honestum* in his discourse thairof, and quhiche of thaime oucht to be framed to the other. And nou Madame, to conçluide, I pray you so to uey[a] thir feu argumentis, that as I euer presumed of youre nature, so the quhole uorlde may praise youre subjectis for thaire deutifull caire for your preseruation, and youre self for youre princelie pittie; the doing quhairof onlie belangis unto you; the parforming quhairof onlie apparteynis unto you; & the praise thairof onlie uill euer be youris. Respect then, goode Sister, this my first, so long contineuid, and so earnist request; dispatching my Ambassadouris with such a confortable ansoure as may become youre persone to giue, and as my louing and honest hairt unto you meritis to ressaue. But in kaice any do uant thaime selfis to knau further of my minde in this matter, then my ambassadouris dò; quho indeid are fullie aquentid thairuith. I praye You not to takk me to be a Camelion, but by the contraire thaime to be malicious imposturis, as suirlie they are: and thus prayinge you hairtlie to excuse my to ruide and longsum[b] lettir, I comitt you Madame and dearest Sister to the blessid protection of the Most Hie, quho mott giue you grace so to resolue in this matter as may be honorabill for you,

[a] weigh. [b] too rude and longsome.

and most acceptable to him. From my palleis of Holirudhouse the 26 day of Januarie 1586 [a].

Youre most louing and affectionat
brother and cousin

JAMES R.

A Madame ma tres chere
sœur & cousine la Royne
d'Angleterre.

LETTER CCXXV.

Queen Elizabeth to King James the Sixth, disavowing her having caused the Execution of the Queen of Scots.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. C. IX. fol. 161.]

*** In a Letter which has been already noticed in a preceding page, from the Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham after Sir Philip Sydney's death [b], there is a passage of no small importance to History, upon the expected execution of the Queen of Scots: and which seems to present itself as no inappropriate introduction to Elizabeth's disavowal.

Lord Leicester says, "there ys a Letter from the Scottish Queen THAT HATH WROUGHT TEARS; but *I trust shall doe no further* herein; albeit the DELAY *is* TOO DANGEROUS." This passage coupled with the declaration in the Letter which is now before the reader's eye, gives us ground to hope, if not to believe, that Elizabeth was *really betrayed* by her Ministers when the warrant for Mary's execution was carried into effect.

My deare Brother, I would you knewe (though not felt) the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which (far contrary to my meaninge) hath befalen. I have now sent this kins-

[a] A. D. 1586-7.

[b] MS. Harl. 285. See before, p. 17.

man of mine whom ere now yt hath pleased yow to favor, to instruct yow trewly of that which ys to yerksom for my penne to tell yow. I beseche yow that as God and many moe knowe, how innocent I am in this case: so you will believe me, that yf I had bid[a] ought I owld have bid by yt[b]. I am not so bace minded that feare of any livinge creature or prince should make me afrayde to do that were just, or don to denye the same. I am not of so base a linage, nor cary so vile a minde. But, as not to disguise, fits not a Kinge, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cawse them shewe even as I ment them. Thus assuringe yourself of me, that as I knowe this was deserved, yet yf I had ment yt I would never laye yt on others shoulders; no more will I not damnifie my selfe, that thought yt not.

The circumstance yt may please yow to have of this bearer. And for your part, thincke yow have not in the World a more lovinge kinswoman, nor a more deare frend then my self; nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve yow and your estate. And who shall otherwise perswade yow, judge them more partiall to others then yow. And thus in hast I leave to troble yow: besechinge God to send yow a longe Reign. The 14th of Feb. 1586[c].

Your most assured lovinge sister
and cosin
ELIZAB. R.

[a] directed. [b] would abide by it. [c] *i. e.* 1586-7.

LETTER CCXXVI.

Lord Treasurer Burleigh to the University of Cambridge, as their Chancellor, for the reformation of Apparel.

[MS. HARL. 7041. p. 199.]

*** The regulations for dress in our Universities in the time of Queen Elizabeth, as we learn from the present Letter, were, in truth, a branch only of the public sumptuary law. What that was, for all ranks of Society, in the detail, is best shown in the royal Proclamations.

In Aubrey's Collections for the Lives of eminent men of Oxford, we have an anecdote or two of D^r^. Kettle the President of Trinity College in that University, which shows, at least, that care was taken to poll the undergraduate's head as late as the time of Charles the First. And even to this day, a few sumptuary regulations prevail in both our Universities. It would, perhaps, be better for those who are preparing for their entry into general life, if more were remaining.

D^r^. Kettle, says Aubrey, "was irreconcileable to long hair; called them hairy scalpes; and as for periwigs, which were then rarely worn, he believed them to be the scalps of men cut off after they were hanged, and so tanned and dressed for use. When he observed the scholars hair longer than ordinary, (especially if they were scholars of the House,) he would bring a pair of scizzars in his muff, which he commonly wore, and woe be to them that sate on the outside of the table. I remember he cût M^r^. Radford's hair with the knife that chips the bread on the buttery-hatch, and then" from the old play of Gammar Gurton's Needle "he sang, '*And was not Grim the collier finely trimm'd?*'"[a]

To my loving frend M^r^ D^r^ Legge Vicechancellor &c. and to the rest of the Heads there.

Wheras the great excess and disorder of Apparell hath not only impoverished the Realme, but hath bene a special cause of many other vices and evil examples in all degrees; for the due reformation whereof it is

[a] Letters from the Bodl. Library, vol. ii. p. 423.

godly provided for in all persons and places, if due execution were had accordingly: for want wherof, many have greatly exceeded the prescription of Law, and left the ancient, grave, and comely apparell generally used of all scholars in both Universities heretofore; whereby they were known and reverenced, every man in his degree, both in the University and withoute, in Court and City, by wearing of that comely, decent, and wonted apparell; the due consideration whereof, is referred by her Majesties Proclamation to the Chancellors of both Universities, supposing that their commandement will work a perfect reformation of all disorders in both the said Universities. Wherefore these are straitly to charge and command you the Vicechancellor and Hedds of the Colleges in the University of Cambridge, that the Statutes and Orders made in your University for the special apparell to be worne of all degrees of scholars, made sithens her Majestie's most gracious raigne, be duely observed and kept, and that no hatt be worne of any Graduate or Scholer within the University, except it be when he shall journey out of the Town, the same Graduate or Scholar having his name in any Table, or being in commons in any House of Learning in the said University; except in the time of his sicknes. And that all Scholers being Graduats upon the charges of any Howse, do wear a square cap of clothe, and lykewise scholers of Howses that be no Graduats, and all other Scholers that have taken no degree of Scholers, and do lyve upon their

own charges, do weare in the said University a round clothe cap. Saving that it may be lawful for the sons of Noblemen, or the sons and heirs of Knights, to wear round caps of velvet, but no hats. And also that every such aforesaid Scholer, being a Graduate, shall wear abroad in the University, going out of his College, a gown and a hoode of clothe, according to the order of his Degree. Provided that it shall be lawfull for every Doctor of Divinity, and for the Master of any College, to weare a scarlett tippet, or a tippet of velvet, according to the antient customs of the realme, and of the said University: the which gown, tippet, and square cap, the said Doctors and Hedds shall be lykewise bound to weare when they shall resorte either to the Courte or to the City of London.

And that the excess of Shirtbands and Ruffs exceeding one inche and halfe (saving for the sonns of Noblemen), the fashion and colore of other then white, be avoyded presently.

And no Scholer nor Fellowe of the foundation of any Howse of Learninge do weare either in the Universitye or without, so long as he retaine the livings of a Fellowe or Scholer, any hose, stockings, dubletts, jackets, coats, or jerkins, or any other kinde of garment of velvet, satten, or silke, or in the faceing of the same shall have above one quarter of a yard of silke, or shall use any other light kynde of colore, or cutts, or gards, or fashion, which shall be forbidden by the Chancellors, or in their absence by the Vicechancellor

and the more part of the Hedds of either of the said Universities.

And that no Scholer do weare any longe locks of heare upon his hedd, but that he be notted, polled, or rounded after the accustomed manner of the gravest scholers of the said University, under the pain of six shillings and eight pence for everye tyme that any graduate Fellow, Scholer, Pensioner, or Sizer shall offende in any of the foresaid Orders. The forfeycture for every publique offence committed without the College to be collected, immediatelye after the offence done, by the bedells or other Officers therunto appoynted within the said University, and to be payd either to the Chancellor, or in his absence to the Vicechancellor of the said University, to th'onlye use of the same, and by him to be accompted for at his general accompts for his yeare.

And the punishments and forfeytures of all the aforesaid offences by any of the aforenamed Students within any of the Colleges or Halls in the said University, to be taken by the Hedds and Sub-Hedds of the said Colleges and Halls where such offence is committed, and to be converted to the use of the said College or Hall.

And thes Orders, together with all other good Orders heretofore taken for exercises of Learning within the aforesaid University, I require you and every of you duely to observe and precisely to kepe according to your Oath and duties, as you will retaine my fa-

vour and would have me to continue my careful government over you: which I assuer you I will cast off, yf I fynde not a due and spedye reformation of all disorders among you: for her Majesty looketh for the same, both at myne and your hands, and that forthwith. So I bid you hartelye farewell, from my House in the Strand, this 7th of Maye 1588.

Your loving frend

W. BURGHLEY.

LETTER CCXXVII.

King James the Sixth of Scotland to Lord Burghley.

[MS. LANSD. 60. NUM. 41. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

RICHT trustie and uellbelouit Cousin that quhiche nou I haue in hande and is so nie the parforming as I neuer hadd the lyke adoē before, so paraduenture shall I not haue the lyke hearafter. If euer the quene thinkis to play a uerie freindis pairt unto me, it is nou tyme. I speak the lyke of you in furthering, quho I know hath bene seeking ane occasion all this tyme past to kythe his affection touardis me; it is nou tyme to give a proofe. No houris nor daies must be lost, for tempus dealis most i trauthe uith me. The particulairis I remitt to the bearare quhome I pray you to trust and giue youre best aduyce unto, and to excuis me for this my laconike writting I ame in suche

haist. And thus richt trustie and uellbelouit cousin I bidd you hairtelie fairueill. At Edinburgh the xv. of August. 1589. I

Youre most louing
& assurit freind & cousin
JAMES R.

LETTER CCXXVIII.

James the Sixth of Scotland to Lord Burghley in favor of some Scotish Merchants sent to London to purchase dresses, &c. preparatory to his Marriage.

[MS. LANSD. BRIT. MUS. NUM. 1236. fol. 51.]

*** King James was married by proxy to Anne daughter of Frederick II^d. of Denmark in the month of August 1589. When upon her way to Scotland, Anne was driven back to Norway in a storm. James sailed to Norway in October to consummate his marriage: and staid in Denmark till the May following.

Ryt trusty and weilbelovit, we greit you hartlie wele. Havinge directit the beraris Robert Jowsie and Thomas Fenlis, marchandis of Edinburgh, toward London for bying and provision of certaine abulzementis[a] and utheris ornamentis requisit for decoration of our mariage, we have taikin occasioun to recommend thame to your greit courtesie, hartlie requeisting and desyring you to interpone your gud will and moyne[b] to thair expeditcoun and furtherance in that

[a] habliments. [b] mind.

concerne, sa that thai bee nawaris[a] interruptit nor hinderit in the performance and execution thairof, bot may ressave quick and haistie dispache; as ye will report our richt speciall and hartie thankes and do ws acceptable plesur. Thus we commit you to Goddis gude protectioun. From the Chanonrie of Ros the xix[th] day off Julij 1589.

Youre lovinge freind

JAMES R.

I pray you further this
. . . . . now: it is on ane
extraordinarie occasion.

To our richt trusty and weilbelovit
The Lord of Burlie Great thesaurar of England.

LETTER CCXXIX.

Serj[t] Fletewood Recorder of London, to Lord Burghley, giving an account of his own, and the Lord Mayor's reception at Court.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 35. *art.* 28. *Orig.*]

My very good Lord, yesterday I sent your Lordship a Letter towchinge the admission of my Lord chieff Justice in to the Comen Place[b]; but my man finding not your Lordship in the Court retorned the Letters to me agayne.

This present Sundaye my Lord Maior was pre-

[a] in no wise. [b] Common Pleas.

sented, where her Maiestie most gratiouslie accepted of my Lord, and of my folishe speache, to the great comforth of my Lord Maior and of all his bretherne the Aldermen.

Her Maiestie was wonderfully well pleased in all things, savinge for that some yonge gentilmen beinge more bold then well manered, did stand upon the Carpett of the Clothe of Estate, and did allmost leane upon the Quesions[a]. Her Highness found falt with My Lord Chamberlain and Mr Vizchamb. and with the gentelmen ushers, for suffering suche disorders. Her Majestie found fault with me for geving more praises unto her Highnes as towching the avaunsement of Religion then, as she said, she deserved; but my good Lord, I said nothing but truly and iustlie as it was indeed. My Lord Chamberlain made my Lord Maior Knight; my lord kyssed her Highnes hand, and sone departed. There wanted your Lordship, my lord Admirall, my lord of Leic. my lord of Hunsdon, Mr. Secretarie, and other great persones.

* * * * * * *

Our Lord Jesus blesse your Lordship, and send your Lordship helthe; this present Sundaye.

Your good Lordship's most bounden

W. FLETEWOOD

To the right honorable
& my singuler good Lord
my Lord Treasorer.

[a] cushions.

LETTER CCXXX.

The Head and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge to Lord Burghley to borrow the Robes in the Tower of London, to wear in a Tragedy to be acted by them.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 78. *art.* 16.]

*** Among Cole's Manuscripts vol. XLI. p. 319. is a copy of a Letter from the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, written to Lord Burghley the Chancellor of that University, in 1580, which shews that dramatic representations of a regular kind were rather discouraged than received there by the Heads of Houses. He says,

"My bounden duty remembred with most humble recommendations: whereas it hath pleased your honor to recommend unto me, and the Heads of the University, my Lord of Oxenford his Players, that they might shew their cunning in several Plays already practised by them before the Queen's Majesty. I did speedily council with the Heads and others, viz. Dr. Still, Dr. Howland, Dr. Binge, Dr. Legge, &c. and considering and pondering that the seed, the cause, and the fear of the Pestilence is not yet vanished and gone this hot time of the year; this Midsummer Fair time having confluence out of all countries, as well of infected as not; the Commencement time at hand, which requireth rather diligence in study, than dissoluteness in plays; and also that of late we denied that like to the right honorable the Lord Leicester his servants; and especially that all Assemblies in open places be expressly forbidden in this University and Town, or within five miles in compass, by her Majesty's Council's Letters to the Vice Chancellor, 30th. Octob. 1575; our trust is that your honor, our most dear loving Chancellor, will take our Answers made unto them in good part; and being willing to impart something from the liberality of the University to them, I could not obtain sufficient assent thereto, and therefore I delivered them but xx^{s}. towards their charges. Also they brought Letters from the right honorable the Lord Chancellor, and the right honorable the Lord of Sussex, to the Vice-Chancellors of Cambridge and Oxford; I trust their Honors will accept their Answers. Thus leaving to trouble your honor with my rude writing, I take my leave. Your Lordships humble and unworthy deputy JOHN HATCHER, *Vice Can.*

"Cambridge the xxi. of June 1580."

The increasing taste however for dramatic composition seems to have led both our Universities to the thought of encouraging such representations among themselves; by which correctness of style was in the first place more

likely to be ensured, and the fable of the drama being fabricated for the most part from ancient story, and in Latin, seemed more readily to fall in with the course of University studies.

Among the Colleges which in this respect led the way in the two Universities to the introduction of the legitimate Drama, TRINITY COLLEGE *Cambridge* and S^t^. JOHN'S *at Oxford* were remarkably distinguished. A little Interlude performed at the latter College before King James the First in 1605, is thought to have suggested Macbeth to Shakspeare[a].

How anxious the members of Trinity College were that their Plays should be got up with full effect, may be judged by the Letter now before the Reader. It was not the first time that they had borrowed dresses from the royal Wardrobe.

OUR bounden dutie in most humble wise remembred. Whereas we intend for the exercise of yonge gentlemen and scholers in our Colledge, to sett forth certain Comœdies and one Tragœdie. There being in that Tragœdie sondry personages of greatest astate, to be represented in auncient princely attire, which is no where to be had but within the Office of the Roabes at the Tower, it is our humble request Your most honorable Lordship would be pleased to graunte your Lordships Warrant unto the chiefe Officers there, that upon sufficient securitie we might be furnished from thence with such meete necessaries as are required. Which favor we have founde heretofore upon your good Lordship's like honorable Warrant: that hath the rather enbouldened us at this time. And so cravinge pardon for this presumption, with remembrance of our dayly prayers unto God for the preservation of Your Honor's health to his owne greate

[a] See Malone's Shaksp. edit. 1790. vol. iv. pp. 438, 439.

glory we humbly take our leave. From Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge, 28° Januarij 1594

Your Honor's most bounden
ever to be commaunded
THOMAS NEVILE.

GEORGE LEE.

JER. RADCLIFFE.

JOHN SLEDD.

JRE. MILVER.

GULI: HALL.

SAMUEL HERON.

CUTHBERT NORRIS.

To the right honorable our verie singuler good Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England.

The Drama was encouraged at Trinity College Cambridge long after the reign of Queen Elizabeth; as is shown by the titles of the four Plays which follow:

"Melanthe; Fabula pastoralis, acta cum Jacobus Magnæ Brit. Franc. & Hiberniæ Rex Cantabrigiam suam nuper inviseret. Egerunt alumni Coll. sac. et individuæ Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ." 4°. Cantr. Legge, Mart. 27. 1615.

"Pedantius; Comœdia, olim Cantabrig. acta in Coll. Trin. nunquam antebac typis evulgata." 12° Lond. 1631.

"Fraus Honesta; Comœdia, Cantabrigiæ olim acta: authore M^ro. Stvbbe Collegii Trinitatis Socio." 12° Lond. 1632.

"Naufragium Joculare; Comœdia, publice coram Academicis acta in Collegio S. S. et individuæ Trinitatis 4° nonas Feb. an. dom. 1638. authore Abrahamo Cowley." 12° Lond. 1638.

M^r. Douce is in possession of three Manuscript Plays, in Latin, performed at Trinity College in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which have never been published.

LETTER CCXXXI.

Henry Bossevyle to Lord Burghley from Calais, concerning a medicine to cure the Gout. A. D. 1592.

[MS. LANSD. BRIT. MUS. NUM. 69. *art.* 60.]

*** The GOUT of a PRIME MINISTER must in any country, and at any time, have been an object of fixed attention with physicians: and in no time more perhaps than when Lord Burghley was lord treasurer of England. His Lordship was greatly afflicted by the Gout; and people, even in remote countries, and of the highest consideration, used their utmost efforts to effect his cure.

Among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the Museum, there are letters to Lord Burghley from all parts of Europe, in English, in Latin, in Italian, presenting him with nostrums of the most infallible character.

How early in life the disease attacked Lord Burghley does not appear; but a M^r. Dyon writes to him, with a course of physic and diet, as early as January the 24^th. 1573, the outside of which is marked in Lord Burghley's hand *Recipe pro podagra*[a]. The Lady Harington sent his Lordship some other directions Feb. 4^th. 1573[b]. We have an Italian Letter to him concerning *a powder* for the Gout, dated Dec. 12^th 1575[c]. In 1579, a prescription was sent to his lordship in Latin by D^r. Henry Landwer to ease his gout by *medicated slippers*[d]: previous to which a variety of remedies had been sent to him in Latin by D^r. Hector, selected from the works of Averroes, Johannes Anglicus, and Mattheus Gradensis[e]. In 1583 another Latin letter came from one Nicholas Gybberd, who pretended he had found *a tincture of Gold* to cure the Gout[f]: and in 1584 an Italian Letter with a pressing offer of cure of another kind, from one Signor Camillo Cardoini[g].

In 1592, as will be seen by the first of the two Letters which immediately follow, one Henry Bossevyle wrote to his Lordship from Calais; offering, for a few hundred pounds and a piece of preferment, to furnish him with *some plaisters*, which, from the description, it might strongly be feared would have proved more painful to the patient than the Gout itself. Lastly, as will be seen in the second of the Letters which follow, the Earl of Shrewsbury sent a prescription. He begged his Lordship to make trial of the *Oil of Stags blood*, which, he said, with a rare and great virtue, had been serviceable to himself.

[a] MS. Lansd. Num. 16. art. 35.
[b] Ibid. art. 36.
[c] Ibid. Num. 21. art. 27.
[d] Ibid. Num. 29. art. 7.
[e] Ibid. Num. 27. art. 43.
[f] Ibid. Num. 39. art. 53.
[g] Ibid. Num. 42. art. 27.

Of the state of medical science in the reign of Henry the Eighth, something has been already said: and the correspondence of Elizabeth's reign shows that in her time it had made no advance. Gout, indeed, has defied the science of all reigns. But what will be said when D^r. Anthony Fenot addresses a solemn Letter of Advice in Latin to the Lords of Queen Elizabeth's Council, for putting an end to the Queen's tooth-ache [a]: or what, when Sir Christopher Hatton the Lord Chancellor could transmit a ring to Sir Thomas Smith for the Queen, to protect her from the infection of the plague: "I am lykewise bold" are the words "to commend my most humble dewtie by this Letter and Rynge, which hath the virtue to expel infectious ayres, and is, as it telleth me, to be worn betwixt the sweet duggs, the chast nest of most pure constancy. I trust that when the virtue is known, it shall not be refused for the value." [b]

For further explanacion of my talke had with your Lordship, and that it maye take the better impression, and forasmuche as your Lordship sayde you wolde gladly talke with me therin, I thoughte it necessarye to set downe my mynde in writinge touchinge that and other things which I have to speake of.

Touchinge the substance of the things that go to this cure, the Styll is used, and there are several waters, and severall things spred upon a certayne beast skynne made leather.

Concerninge the applyenge therof, one water muste bathe the place nere unto the payne, leavinge a joynte betwene the place of payne and the place that is bathed, yf conveniently it maye be. Then muste a peece of the sayde lether be cutte conveniente to make a playster, which muste be well moystned in one of the sayde waters, and theron severall other things spredde, with playster muste be layde upon the place so bathed,

[a] MS. Lansd. Num. 27. art. 24.

[b] MS. Harl. 416.

there to remayne xij. howers, and afterwardes there muste be freshe bathinge and playsters.

For the operacion therof, the paciente shall shortly fynde the humore stirred, blisters or pymples to rise out of the place where the playster is layde, out of which shall yssue the badde humore; some of which blisters wyll drye up, and others wyll unely breake out so longe as any parte of the humore remaynethe.

When all the badde humore is drawne out, they wyll drye up, and the patient shall fynde hymself for the present cured, by havinge the use of his joynts as nymble as ever they were which were so afflicted, and afterwardes shall feele no more payne of the goute.

Nowe yf your Lordship beleve not that the goute is to be cured as I a good while did thinke, seinge that no phisician coulde do yt, yet I desire that your Lordship wyll suspende your judgemente, and that one, as sone as maye be, maye be soughte out who hathe the payne of the gowte notablye and which your Lordship by the advyse of your phisicians shall beleve to be so payned, upon whome I wyll applye these medecynes, and nothinge wyll I use which I wyll not in the presens of the patiente apply to my tunge; and when he is cured your Lordship schall se a difference betwene Alcumists and Phisicians, and then your Lordship maye bouldely deale with me. But this proviso I use herein that excepte your Lordship wyll accepte yt as done to your selfe; for I do affirme yt upon my faythe, that besides the laboure and charges

of the things that go to the cure of this which maye be so precious as for the quantetye maye come to above CCCC. or v. C pounds, yt hathe coste me more fayre goulde then I thinke was ever geoven in England for a medecyne.

And forasmuche as I can not satisfye my conscience to come to churche, and that yf your Lordship move not presently her Majestie, some one will begge my lyvinge, I do beseeche your Lordship to get it yourselfe. And yf I performe this cure which I doute not to do, I shall be worthye to have it bestowed on me by your Lordship, with other reasonable favors and yf I do it not then your Lordship maye make your gayne of my livinge as you shall thinke good.

* * * * * *

Your Lordships ever at commaundment
in all he can,

HENRY BOSSEVYLE.

LETTER CCXXXII.

The Earl of Shrewsbury to the Lord Burghley, with a cure for the Gout.

[MS. LANSD. BRIT. MUS. NUM. 75. *art.* 80. *Orig.*]

My especiall good Lord, at this present I have no particuler matter wherwith to trouble your Lordship, and yet I cannot satisfye myself with silence, but hereby to recommend myself to your Lordship in all

trew affection of harte, being allway more ready and desirous to express the same by any other means if it lay in my power. I heard your Lordship was, of late, somewhat visited with the Goute; I hope before this you are well ryd thereof, as I most heartily wish. I would your Lordship wolde once make trial of MY OYLE OF STAGS BLUD, for I am strongly persuaded of the rare and great vertu thereof. In the beginninge of this Wynter I was touched with the Goute in the joynte of my great toe, and it began sumwhat sharpely, and yet was I spedely eased, and for that tyme cured by that oyle only. I know it to be a moste safe thynge. Some offence there is in the smell thereof; and yet it is wrytten of it that the very smell therof is comfortable and yeldeth streyngeth to the brayne. I am afrayd to troble your Lordship over longe, therfore with the remembrance of my Wyves truble and moste harty commendacions to your Lordship, and with bothe our prayers for your Lordship's perfite health, honor, and happiness, I will for this tyme take my leave. At Handsworth this 23th of January 1593[a].

Yor Lordships ever most assured
at your commandement

GILB. SHREWSBURY.

To the right honorable and
my espetiall good Lorde
the Lord Burghley
Lord High Thresurer of
England.

[a] A. D. 1593-4.

LETTER CCXXXIII.

Elizabeth dowager Lady Russel to Lord Cecil; a letter of familiarity and kindness. A. D. 1594.

[MS. LANSD. BRIT. MUS. NUM. 76. *art.* 82. *Orig.*]

God comfort you, my Lord, when you woold as it pleased your Lordship to comfort my daunted spiritts which were so changed therby and sturred upp by your Lordships so honorable most kynde and unloked for visitacion, as turned melancoly into a sanguin. My Lord in trawth I am weak. Heat in the forpart of my hed unfaynedly, with shooting payen, and swimming brayne, maketh me, on my fayth, to feare a sodayne death, like to the Erle Dorset. Suer I am that I slepe litle, eate less, nor drank a draught of ale, bere, or wyne sins my comming to Windsor, but water and limmons, by phisitions advise. But in trawth I had clymed up and stoode from your Lordship's comming in, to your going owt, which made me faynt and sweat truly. Thus muche have I troobled your Lordship becawse I woold not willingly deserve to be thought a dissembler or ipperitt. Becawse I here your Lordship meaneth to be gon early in the morning, I am bowld to send your pale thin cheecks a comfortable litle breckfast agaynst the contagion of this tyme.

God bless yow, with the continuance of all helth and happiness as I woold to myself unfaynedly.

Your Lordships owld Awnt, of compleate lxviij yeres, that will pray for your long lyfe

ELIZABETH RUSSELL *douager*.

LETTER CCXXXIV.

Sir Robert Cecil to the Earl of Essex, with some reflections upon Sir Walter Raleigh, and an Account of the Queen's reception of the Polish Ambassador.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 85. *art.* 19.]

*** This Letter, written at Queen Elizabeth's personal request, relates chiefly to the Audience which she gave to the Ambassador from Sigismund king of Poland in 1597; whose arrogant deportment is noticed by most of our Historians. It was upon this occasion, to use the words of Speed, that the Queen, lion-like rising, daunted the malapert Orator no less with her stately port and majestical departure, than with the tartness of her princely checks: and turning to the Traine of her Attendants, thus said: 'God's death my Lords' (for that was her oath ever in anger) 'I 'have been enforced this day to scoure up my old Latin that hath lain long 'in rusting.'

The unexpected turn of the Pole's Address occasioned the Queen to wave the usual etiquette. She prevented the Lord Chancellor from returning an Answer, that she might herself do it with greater force.

MY GOOD LORD

By a Letter of yours, written on Saterday, what howre I know not, your Lordship seemeth not to conceave what might be the reason that things runne

on by us with so great silence; wherein that you may see the poore unfortunate Secretarie will leave no scrupule in you of lack of industry, to yeald you all satisfaction, (whome it were inhumanitie to neglecte, the circumstances considered of your cares and toiles, which have much of their dependencie upon the breath of this place,) I have thought good to yeald you reason for all, by drawing you to make your owne computations. Tyll Fryday in the morning wee heard nothing of your safe arrivall[a], of which, to tell you true, tyll I was well advertised, I tooke little pleasure to thinke of aunswering the Remaine, but wished the Action dissolved, and knewe, yf you had perished, it hath ben a vanitie to have dreamed any further, of ought els but passion here, and confusion there. And for good Mr Ralegh, who wonders at his owne diligence (because diligence and he are not familiars), it is true, that on Wednesday night, I being at Greenwich, and the Queen at Mr Walsinghams, his Letter found me, which I imparted on Thursday, as soone as the Queene was readie, unto her; and do confesse, that in expectation to heare of you, wee did differe aunswer to you untill Fryday, of which day, I trust, divers dispatches are with you long before this tyme. Thus do you see that a man, whose fortunes scants him of meanes to do you service, will not beare coales to be accused of dul-

[a] Which was at Plymouth, where the Earl and Sr. Walter Ralcigh were driven by stormy weather, in the setting out of an Expedition to Spain.

nes, especially by your rere-admirall, who making haste but once in a yeare to write a lettre in post, gave date from Waymouth to his last dispatche, which by the circumstances I knew was written from Plymouth.

But now, My Lord, after this longe preface, lett me take a little tyme for you with that, which I assure you would have pleased you, if you had ben a beholder.

There arrived three daies since in the Cittie an Ambassador out of Poland, a gentleman of excellent fashion, witte, discourse, language, and person; the Queene was possessed by some of our new Counsellours, that are as cunning in intelligence as in decyphering, that his negotiation tendeth to a proposition of peace. Her Majesty, in respect that his father the Duke of Finland had so much honored her, besydes the lyking she had of this gentlemans commelines and qualities brought to her by reporte, did resolve to receave him publickly in the Chamber of Presence, where most of the Erles and Noblemen about the Court attended, and made it a great day. He was brought in attired in a longe robe of black velvett, well jeweld and buttond, and came to kisse her Ma^ts^ hands where she stood under the State, from whence he straight retired, tenne yardes of, and then begonne his Oration aloude in Latin, with such a gallant countenance, as in my lyfe I never behelde. The effect of it was this: that "the King hath sent him to putt "her Ma^tie^ in minde of the auncient confederacies be-

"tweene the Kings of Poland and England; that never "a Monarche in Europe did willinglie neglect their "frendship; that he had ever frendlie receaved her "merchants and subjects of all qualitie; that she had "suffered his to be spoiled without restitution, not "for lacke of knowledge of the violencies, but out of "meer injustice, not caring to minister remedie, not- "withstanding many particular petitions and letters "receaved; and to confirme hir disposition to avowe "these courses (violating both the Law of Nature and "Nations) because ther were quarels between her and "the King of Spaine, she therfor tooke upon her, by "mandat, to prohibite him and his Countreis, as- "suming therby to her self a superioritie (not tolle- "rable) over other Princes; nor he determined to en- "dure; but rather wished her to knowe, that yf there "were no more then the auncient amitie between "Spaine and him, it were no reason to looke that his "subjects should be impedited, much lesse now, when "a strickt obligation of bloud had so conjoyned him "with the illustrious howse of Austria:" concluding, that, "if her Ma^tie would not reforme it, he would."

To this I sweare by the living God, that her Ma^tie made one of the best aunswers *ex tempore*, in Latin, that ever I heard, being much mooved to be so challenged in publick, especially so much against her expectation. The wordes of her beginning were these, "*Expectavi Legationem, mihi vero Querelam adduxisti*; is this the busynes your King hath sent you

" about! suerlie I can hardlie beleeve, that yf the
" King himself were present, he would have used such
" a language, for yf he should, I must have thought
" that his being a King not of many yeares, and that
" *non de jure sanguinis, sed de jure electionis, imo no-*
" *viter electus*, may happilie leave him uninformed of
" that course which his father and auncestors have
" taken with us, and which peradventure shalbe ob-
" served by those that shall live to come after him.
" And as for you (saied she to the Ambassador) al-
" though I perceave you have redde many books to
" fortifie your arguments in this case, yet am I apt to
" beleeve that you have not lighted upon the Chapter
" that prescribeth the forme to be used between Kings
" and Princes; but were it not for the place you hold,
" to have so publicly an imputation throwne upon
" our Justice, which as yet never failed, wee would
" aunswer this audacitie of yours in another style.
" And for the particulars of your Negotiations, wee
" will appoint some of our Counsell to conferre with
" you to see upon what ground this clamor of yours
" hath his foundacion, who have shewed your self
" rather an Heralde then an Ambassador."

I assure your Lordship though I am not apt to wonder, I must confesse before the living Lord that I never heard her (when I know her spirits were in passion) speake with better moderation in my lyfe.

You will thinke it strange that I am thus idle as to use an other bodies hand. I assure you I have harte

my thumme at this hower; and because the Queene tould me she was sorrye you heard not his Latin and hers, I promised her to make you partaker of as much as I could remember, being as I knew the worst you would expect from her, and yet the best could come from any other. Yf therfore this my Lettre finde you, and that you write backe before your going, I pray you take notice that you were pleased to heare of her wise and eloquent aunswer.

I am half ashamed to take thus much tyme from you, but when I hope it shalbe the last which shal come to you before you goe out of England, I am contented in this to be censured idle, though, in all things els upon the face of the earth, I wilbe founde

Your faithfull and affectionate
poore frende, to doe you service

. . . . . .

From the Court at Grenwich
the 26 of July 1597.

It may not be irrelevant to add here from Camden's Annals, that subsequent to this rebuff of the Polish Envoy, Queen Elizabeth appointed Lord Burghley, the Lord Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Fortescue to confer with him: and afterwards, though without much redress, he was graciously dismissed. His Oration, it appeared, had been delivered to him in writing by Thelitizky the Chancellor of Sweden[a]. The detailed Answer with which he was sent back, signed by the Commissioners abovementioned, is still extant among Sir Julius Cæsar's Papers[b]; dated from Greenwich on the 13th. of August.

A copy of the whole of the Speech in Latin as delivered by the Queen, is preserved in the Lansdowne MS. Num. 94. *art.* 50, "Responsio reprehensoria Reginæ Eliz. ad Orationem Pauli de Jaline, Sigismondi IIItii, Poloniæ Regis legati, extempore locuta, Julii 26. 1597.

[a] Camd. Ann. p. 537.

[b] MS. Lansd. Num. 139. fol. 543.

LETTER CCXXXV.

The Emperor of Muscovy to Queen Elizabeth thanking her for the offer of sending over a young Lady to match with one of his sons.

[MS. COTTON. NERO B. XI. fol. 392. *A Transl.*]

*** The Cottonian Collection of Manuscripts in the Museum contains numerous documents illustrative of the first intercourse between England and Russia: as well as one or two earlier Manuscripts of Russian History [a].

The greater part of these have been recently transcribed at the expense of the Russian government.

The communication between the two Countries can hardly be said to have begun before the time of Philip and Mary [b]; but it so ripened in the time of Elizabeth, that the Czar Ivan Basilovitch, in 1583, was even desirous to have an English wife. The particulars shall be told in the words of Camden, under that year.

"It is not here to be forgot how in these days, War growing hot betwixt the Moscovite and the Swede in the northern climate, John King of Sweden, unable to resist the power of so great an Emperor, sent Eric of Wisimbrug his kinsman, Andreas Riche one of his council, and Raschy his secretary, on a noble embassy to Queen Elizabeth, and by his Letters intreated her to mediate a peace with the Moscovite by her embassador; which she did without delay, and perswaded the Moscovite to a peace upon reasonable conditions. For he dealt now afresh with the Queen about a league, and about a refuge in England if any disaster should befall him [c]; and made suit also *for a* WIFE *out of England*. Touching these matters Sir Jerome Bowes knight was sent embassador thither, but could hardly satisfy him, for that the Moscovite with much importunity required an absolute league written in his own words; and would by no means hear that it was not the part of

[a] The Cottonian Manuscript Vitell. F. x. contains a Russian Chronicle, the earliest part of which is by St. Nestor, the oldest of the Russian annalists. It begins with the commencement of the Russian state, and is continued, by different hands, to the latter part of the fifteenth century. St. Nestor lived in the twelfth century.

[b] The Cottonian MS. Nero B. viii. fol. 3. preserves a Latin letter from K. Philip and Q. Mary to Czar Wassilie, supposed to be Ivan the Fourth, in favour of mutual commercial intercourse: dated at Westminster in the month of April 1557.

[c] In the Cottonian Manuscript Nero B. xi. there is a copy of a Letter which Queen Elizabeth wrote from Hampton Court to the Czar before this, as early as May 18th. 1570, promising to receive him hospitably in case his enemies should drive him from his dominions.

a christian, nor allowable by the law of nations, to exercise hostility without first denouncing war, or to come to blows before such time as he that offered the wrong were required to give satisfaction, and to abstain from doing farther injury. The Queen designed him for a wife the Lady Anne, sister to the Earl of Huntingdon. But when she certainly understood that he might, by the laws of his country, put away his wives at his pleasure, she excused it again by the Lady's indisposition of health, and the tender affection of her mother, who could not endure the absence of her daughter in a country so far distant, and that she had no power to give the daughters of her subjects in marriage without the consent of their parents."[a] The Czar was discontented it appears; but he died in the ensuing year.

The following Letter concerns a negociation for a marriage somewhat later, and with another Czar. It is dated in the year of the World 7111; but which, unless the Russian world began before our's, cannot be correct; and is probably an error of the Translator. The Czar Boris Godonouf, the son of Feodor Ivanovitch, by whose order this Letter was written, began his reign in Russia in 1598; and died of poison April 23d. 1605. The year 6311 of the Julian period, if we can suppose that to be the date, would answer exactly to the commencement of his reign.

The Czar was evidently desirous of matching one of his sons with a young lady whom Elizabeth had recommended. He shrewdly wishes to enquire concerning the young lady's descent, and if related to the Queen by the father or the MOTHER's side. There is no reason to believe that this match took effect: it is unnoticed by our historians. The Letter, however, is a memorial of the close intercourse which was then encouraged between the two countries.

THROUGH the tender mercie of God wherby the daie spring from on high doth guyde our feete into the way of Peace, the God in Trinitie we praise for his mercie.

From the great Lord, King, and great Duke Burrys Phedeorowich, of all Russia only upholder, of Volodemio, Mosco, Novogorode, King of Cazan and Astrachan, Lord of Volsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, Otver, Vghery, Pernie, Veatskey, Bolgharie, and

[a] Camd. Ann. of Eliz. p. 285.

other Regions, great Duke allso of Novogorod in the lowe Contries, Chernico, Razan, Pelotsko, Rostovskey, Yearoslauley, Belozera, and of Leyuffland, of Vdorskey, Condinsko, and Commander of all the Contrie of Syberia and of the North parts, and Lord over the Contrey of Verskey, Grusmiskey, and King over the Contrey of Kabordinskey, Chereaske, duke over the Countrey of Igorskey, and Ruler over many other kingdoms and dominions, our dere and loving Sister, greeting,

To the right high and wourthie prynce our deare and loving sister Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and of many other Countries.

Your Ma^tie our loving sister hath sent unto us your princely and kynde Lettres, professing your sisterly love and affections towards us, which we have diligently perused and readd, and doe most kindlie conceave therof.

And concerning the argument of your princely Lettres, it cannot but geve us an extraordinary contentment; wee fynding therin your Ma^ts love and affection towards us and our Children, carefully endevoring the matching and bestowinge of them in your owne lyne and race. By which your Letters your highnes made knowne unto us that, amongst others, you have made choise of a yong Ladie, being a pure mayden, nobly descended by father and mother, adorned with

graces and extraordinary guifts of nature, about eleven yeres of age, of whom you made an offer unto us, that yf it be the pleasure of God to encline the harts of the twoe yonge coople to like one of the other, all circumstances shalbe accommodated on your part, and that your princely desire is to knitt more and more, if it can be, soe mutuall bonds of frendshipp, as that no practize of others envie should have power to weaken or blemysh the same.

Of which Ladie, and others, your Ma^tie^ intended to send and represent unto us as many livelie Images as absence could affourd by a gentleman well qualified, and well trusted by you, who should frely and perticulerly deale with us in all things necessary for an affaire of this importance: wisshing us to suspend from embracing any other course in that kinde, till we have heard what your Embassador (whom you purpose to sende) could saie in the matter.

But your Ma^tie^ hath therein not perticulerlie written unto us (of that wourthie ladie) what she is; whether shee be of your Highnes blood, discended of your Royall race; by your father or mother; or from some other Archduke or Duke; whereof we are desirous to be resolved. Upon consideracon of which your Ma^ties^ most kynde Lettres, wee great Kinge and great Duke Burris Phederowich of all Russia doe acknowledg our self much beholding unto yow, that yow our loving sister are pleased to make unto us so loving and free an offer

in this kynde, wherein it cannot be unknowne unto your Ma^tie^ that we have byn moved and formerly dealt withall by divers other great princes who have sent unto us with earnest entreatie to match with our children. And in respect of our Conceipt of your Ma^ties^ good affection towardes us, we doe rather and more willingly enclyne to your princely offer, than to the offer of any other great Prince what soever.

And to that end, our desire is, that You our loving Sister would be pleased before you doe send your Embassador, to lett us knowe howe this Ladie (purposed by your Ma^tie^ to be offred unto us in maryage) standeth allied to your Ma^tie^ or otherwise from what Duke or Archduke she is descended: upon notice whereof we shall apply ourself to resolve of the matter. And in the meane tyme we will suspende the embracing any other course in this busynes; expecting with all expedition to be satisfied fullie by your Ma^tie^ herein. Written in our princely Pallaice in the Cittie of Moskoe in the yeare since the beginning of the World 7111. and in the moneth of Aprill.

LETTER CCXXXVI.

Esperanza Malchi, a Jewess, to Queen Elizabeth, accompanying a Present of certain Articles of Dress from the Sultana Mother at Constantinople.

[FROM THE *Original* IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.]

*** Queen Elizabeth's fondness for Dress must be familiar to the recollection of every reader of English History. One writer assures us, that at the time of her death she had in her possession three thousand complete habits. Few objects were so acceptable to her in the shape of presents, as articles of clothing; and we find in this Letter that even the Sultana Mother at Constantinople knew her passion, and sent her, as late as 1599, a robe, a girdle, five wrought kerchiefs, and a rich necklace; desiring only in return, some distilled waters, some essences, and some cloths of silk or wool.

The Wardrobe of Queen Elizabeth would be an entertaining subject for a Memoir.

Among what are called the Donation Manuscripts in the British Museum there is a Book of Queen Elizabeth's Jewels, taken in the month of July 1587, forming part of a Wardrobe Account. Two or three of the entries are worth the Reader's notice.

"Item, one little Flower of gold with a frogg thereon, and therein MOUNSIER *his phisnamye*[a], and a little pearl pendant." This was probably a brooch.

"Item, a little bottle of Amber with a foot of gold, and on the top thereof a beare with a ragged staffe." The bear and staff, was Leicester's device.

"Item a toothe-picke of gold like a bitterns clawe, garnished with four diamondes, four rubies, and four emeralds, being all but sparks.

[a] The Cottonian Manuscript Vesp. F. VI. fol. 107. contains a description of the Duke d'Alençon's "phisnamye" not much to his advantage: it is in a Letter from Sir Francis Walsingham, dated Paris July 13th. 1572. "I have in my Letter to be shewed unto her Majesty, truely set downe what I can learn of the young-Prince. To be playne with your Lordship the only thinge that I fear in this match is the consideration of the delicacy of her Majesty's eye, and of the hard favor of the gentleman, besides his disfiguring with the small pocks; which if she should see with her eyé I mysdoubt much it would withdraw her liking to proceed." The Queen, however, afterwards saw him and was not disgusted, as may be guessed by her wearing his portrait.

"Item a Nuttecracker of Golde, garnished with sparks of diamonds."

When Hentzner saw Elizabeth in her sixty-seventh year, "she wore false hair, and that red." In the Jewel book here mentioned we have a long list of her Majesty's Wigs, or rather *head-dresses*. They are called, at the head of the page, "Attiers."

"Item, one Cawle of hair set with pearls," in number "xliij."

"Item, one Cawle of hair sett with pearle of sundry sort and bigness, with seed pearl between them cheveron-wise; cxci.

"Item a Cawle with nine trueloves of pearl, and seven buttons of gold; in each button a rubie."

To return to the Letter immediately before the Reader. It is written not only in old but in uncouth Italian; and, from the spelling and idiom, Esperanza Malchi may be guessed to have been a Spanish Jewess.

Alla serenissima Reggina de Ingelterra, Francia, et Iberna.

Como il Solle alumina con soi raggi sopra la terra, la virtu et grandeza di sua maesta si stende per tutto el universo, sin tanto che quelli que sonno di differente nacioni et legge desidreno servir sua maesta. Questo dico io per me, che essendo io Hebrea di legge et nacione diferente di sua maesta, da la prima hora che piache al S^r^ Iddio di mettere nel cuore di questa nostra serenissima Reggia Madre servirse di me, sempre sonno stata desiderosa che me venisse hocasion di potter mustrar a sua Maesta questa mia vullunta. Fora

Translation.

To the most serene Queen of England, France, and Ireland.

As the Sun with his rays shines upon the Earth, so the virtue and greatness of your Majesty extend over the whole Universe, so much so that those who are of different nations and laws desire to serve your Majesty. This I say as to myself, who being a Hebrew by law and nation, have, from the first hour that it pleased the Lord God to put into the heart of this our most serene Queen Mother to make use of my services, ever been desirous that an occasion might arise on which I might

che S. M. à mandato questo ill^mo Imbasiator in questo Regno con un presente per questa serenissima Reggina mia s^a in quanto si â volluto servir di me mi â trovato prôta. Et hora alla dispidicione di esso ill^mo Inbasiator la serenissima Reggina vullendo mustrar a sua maesta el amor che gliâ, manda a sua maesta con questo ill^mo Imbasiatore una veste, et una cintura, et doi faeiolli lavorati de horo, et tre lavorati di seta al uzanza di questo Regno, et un collar di perle et rubini; il tutto manda la ser^ma Reggina all ill^mo S^r Imbasiator per mano del S^r Bostanggi Basi e' per mia mano gli ho consignato al ill^mo S^r Imbasiator una corona di diamante gioia di sua ser^ta qualli dice piaæra â sua maesta portar per amor di lei et de la receputa dar aviso. Et per esser sua Maesta donna senza vergogna alcuna la posio hocupar con questo aviso il qual ê che trovandosi nel suo regno aque destillati fini de hogne sorte per la facia et hogli hodoriffere per le mani sua Maesta mi favorira mandarne per mia mano

Translation.

show that disposition which I cherish. Besides your Majesty having sent a distinguished Ambassador into this Kingdom, with a present for this most serene Queen my mistress, in as much as she has been willing to make use of my services, she has found me ready. And now at the departure of the noble Ambassador alluded to, the most serene Queen, wishing to prove to your Majesty the love she bears you, sends to your Majesty by the same illustrious Ambassador a robe and a girdle, and two kerchiefs wrought in gold, and three wrought in silk, after the fashion of this Kingdom, and a necklace of pearls and rubies; the whole the most serene Queen sends to the illustrious Ambassador by the hand of the Sieur Bostanggi Basi; and by my own hand I have delivered to the illustrious Ambassador a wreath of diamonds from the jewels of her Highness, which she says, your Majesty will be pleased to wear for the love of her, and give information of the receipt. And your Majesty being a Lady full of condescension, I venture to prefer the following request; namely that, since there are to be met with in your Kingdom distilled waters of every description for the face, and odoriferous oils for the hands, your Majesty would favor me by transmitting some by my hand for this most serene Queen; by

per il medesimo se si trovano nel suo Regno panini di seta ho di lana cosse stravaganti et convenienti per una tanta alta Reggina come lei sua Maesta potra mandarli che piu avera lei caro questo che qual si voglia gioia che sua Maesta gli posia mandar non altro sollo pregar il S^{r} Iddio gli dia vitoria di soi nemici et sempre sia S. M. prospera et fellice. Amen. Di Constantinopolli 16 Nov. 1599.

Umilissima di S. M.

ESPERANZA MALCHI.

Translation.

my hand, as, being articles for ladies, she does not wish them to pass through other hands. Likewise if there are to be had in your Kingdom cloths of silk or wool, articles of fancy suited for so high a Queen as my Mistress, your Majesty may be pleased to send them, as she will be more gratified by such objects than any valuable your Majesty could send her. I have nothing further to add, but to pray the Lord God that he may give your Majesty the victory over your enemies: and that your Majesty may ever be prosperous and happy. Amen. From Constantinople the 16th. November 1599.

Your Majesty's most humble
ESPERANZA MALCHI.

LETTER CCXXXVII.

The Countess of Essex to M^{r} Secretary Cecil, to join the Lords of the Council in petitioning the Queen not to sign the Warrant for the Earl of Essex's Execution.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 88. *art.* 14. *Orig.*]

*** The History of Essex's rebellion is sufficiently known. Frances, his countess, the writer of this Letter, was the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham; and, a few years before, had excited universal pity as the widow of Sir Philip Sydney. Essex was beheaded Feb. 25th. 1601. His

Countess afterwards married Richard earl of St. Albans, by whom she was the mother of Ulick marquis of Clanrikard.

SIR

ALTHOUGH the awnswere I receved from you two daies since gave mee small incouragement to flatter my self that anie importunity I could make should bee able to appease the scandall you had conceaved to bee geven you by my unfortunat husband[a]: yet hade it not pleased God to powre uppon mee one affliction

[a] Lady Essex probably here alludes to the scene which took place at her husband's Trial; when Essex charged Cecil with having said to one of the Council that the title of the Infanta of Spain to the Crown of England was as good as any other of the competitors whosoever. "Scarce had he spoken the word," says Camden, "when Cecil, who stood hidden in a close room just by, and heard all, bolted forth into the Court, and, falling on his knees, besought the Lord Steward that he might have leave to answer so false and foul an Accusation. Which being granted, he spake to the Earl of Essex in this manner: 'For wit, wherewith indeed you do 'abound, I am your inferior; I am your inferior for nobility, for I am not in 'the rank of the prime nobility, yet noble I am; a sword-man I am not, and herein 'also you go before me: yet doth my innocency protect me, and in this court I 'stand an honest man, you a delinquent. Wherefore I challenge you, if you dare, 'openly to name that counsellor to whom I spake those words.' Essex refused. Cecil therefore inferred, that it was to be taken for a fiction of his own invention. Essex denied it. Then Cecil turned to Southampton," who was arraigned with Essex, "and said, 'I adjure and beseech you, Sir, by the intimate friendship and 'familiarity that hath been betwixt us from our tender years, by our joint Christian 'profession, by the honor of your family, that you name the man.' Southampton referred it to the most honorable bench, and to Cecil himself, whether he might do it; and save his honor, and whether it were agreeable to reason that he should name him. When they all thought it reasonable that he should be named, he named Sir William Knolles comptroller of the Queen's household, Essex's uncle. He being sent for at the earnest intreaty of Cecil, came and acknowledged that he had heard Cecil, two years before, say, that one Dolman had in a printed book maintained the title of the Infanta of Spain to the Crown of England, and other than this he had not spoken. Essex said, 'But these words were reported to me in 'another sense.' Cecil answered, 'Your malice, whereby you seek to procure me 'hatred with all men, hath been occasioned only by my affection and love to peace, 'for the good of my country, and your own ardent desire of war, for the pleasure 'and profit of military men, whom you labour to bring to your beck and devotion. 'Hence was it that you set forth your apology against the Peace: hence proceeds 'your general hatred against all that are affected to peace, as if they were addicted 'to the Spaniard. For my part, I am so far from inclining to the Infanta of Spain, 'that my heart even trembleth to think she should ever have any thing to do here.'" Camd. Hist. of Eliz. edit. 1675. fol. p. 617.

after an other, and to add to the immesurable sorrowes of my harte so violent a sicknes as I am not able of my self to stur out of my bed, I had presented unto your vew the image of the importunate Widow mentioned in the Scriptur, and had never ceased to pester you with my complaines till you had afforded me some assurance that, whatsoever respects might dehorte you from so much as wishinge my husband's good, yet that an afflicted and wofull lady should not wholly loose her labor, or returne desperate of such comforts at the last yeare you so honorably ministred unto mee in a great affliction though differinge from this in qualitie. As I receaved then such noble curtesies from you as must never bee forgotten; so bee perswaded, I beseech you, that whatsoever new favor you shall now be pleased to add to the old, shall so binde mee to reverence of your vertues as I will resolve to recken my self a bankerout till I have yeelddid some demonstrative testimonie of the best thankfullnes that the honestest harte can expresse for the worthest benefitt. Honorable Sir, I know there bee private causes to discourage mee from movinge you heerin: yet, seeinge the highest providence hath placed you in a callinge most propper to bee a mene for my comforte, and that former experiance hath tought me that you are rather inclyned to doe good then to looke allway to private interest, I beseech you, even for your vertues sake, performe this noble office for mee as to joyne with the rest of your

LL.ps of the Councell in presentinge my humblest supplicacion to her Majestie. Bere Sir, I pray you, with theise tedious blotts[a] from her feeble hand and sad sick harte that is stored with much thankfullnes and infinite best wishes unto you, who will ever rest

Your most beeholdinge poore
distressed frend

FRA: ESSEX.

And M.r Secretary even as you desire of God that your owne sonne never bee made orphane by the untimely or unnaturall death of his deere father, vouchsafe a relentinge to the not urginge if you may not to the hindringe of that fatell warrant for Execution, which if it bee once signed I shall never wish to breath one howre after.

To the right honorable
M.r. Secretary Cecill.

LETTER CCXXXVIII.

M.r (afterwards Sir) Francis Bacon to M.r Kenney, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth.

[MS. HARL. 4761. fol. 177.]

*** The Crown of England, says Hume, was never transferred from father to son with greater tranquillity, than it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart.

[a] Blots and blurrs occur in different parts of this Letter. EDIT.

Bitter as was the hatred of Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, she seems to have entertained no real enmity toward James. Of the lady Arabella Stuart, she was jealous. But all men it is probable, except Sir Walter Raleigh, had ceased to think of Her as a successor.

The writer of "Certain Observations concerning the Life and Reigne of Elizabeth," preserved among the Sloane Manuscripts[a], giving an Account of the Ceremonial of her Interment, says, "The Lady Arabella Stuart, being of the royal blood, was specially required to have honored the funerals with her presence: which she refused: saying that sith her accesse to the Queen in her lifetime might not be permitted, she would not, after her death, be brought upon the stage for a public spectacle."

MR. KENNEY

THIS alteration is so greate as you might justly conceive some coldness in my affection towards you if you should heare nothing from me; I living in this place. It is in vain to tell you with what wonderful skil and calme this wheel is turned round, which whether it be a remnant of her felicity that is gone, or a fruit of his reputation that is coming I will not determine, for I cannot but divide myself between her memory and his name: but we account it as a fair morning before Sun-rising, before his Majesty's presence: though for my part I see not from whence any weather should arise. The Papists are conceived with fear enough, and hope too much: the French is thought to turne his practise upon procuring some disturbance in Scotland, where the Crownes may do wonders: but this day is so welcome to that nation, and the time so short, as I do not fear th'effect. My

[a] MS. Sloan. num. 718.

Lord of Southampton expected release by the next dispatch, and is already much visited and much well-wished[a]. There is continual posting by men of good quality towards the King; the rather I think because this Spring time it is but a kind of sporte. It is hoped that as th'Estates here have performed the parts of good Attorneys to deliver the King quiet possession of his kingdom, so the King will re-deliver them quiet possession of their places; rather filling places void, than removing men out of places.

Yours

FRA. BACON.

[a] The Earl of Southampton, as well as some others who remained prisoners in the Tower for the Earl of Essex's attempt, were delivered by warrant from the King. April 10th. 1603.

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

JAMES THE FIRST.

THE Letters of the Reign of JAMES *the* FIRST here presented, dwell, comparatively speaking, upon few topics. His arrival to take possession of the Kingdom; his neglect of the Elector Palatine; the details of the Spanish, and subsequently of the French match; form the chief points. Interspersed with these are other Letters, illustrative of the manners of his reign, of individual character, or particular events.

The Letters which relate to the Courtship of HENRIETTA *of* FRANCE are not among the least interesting.

JAMES was frequently designated by his flatterers as the English Solomon. Henry the Fourth of France, it is said, used sarcastically to call him SOLOMON *the son of* DAVID.

That his literary attainments were respectable cannot be denied: and he probably would have been more popular than he was, toward the close of his reign, if he had followed his own judgement in politics. He was ever averse to the Journey into Spain: but Charles and Buckingham overruled him. His neglect of his son-in-law, as far as Bohemia was concerned, was the effect of principle. He would not assist a factious people to overthrow legitimate authority. His neglect to give effectual support to his son-in-law, subsequently, in the Palatinate, is not to be so easily justified. The hope of serving his son-in-law without resorting to war, seems to have been one reason for his consenting to encourage the Spanish match.

LETTER CCXXXIX.

King James the First to the Lords of the Privy Council, upon his entering England.

[MS. IN MUS. ASHMOL. OXON. *Orig.*]

*** The details of King James's journey from Scotland to England, it will be readily conceived, are numerous.

The three Letters which immediately follow are from the King himself, addressed to the Privy Council, to the Nobility of England, and to his chief Ministers, upon his advance to take possession of the Throne.

On the 24th. of March 1603, the very day of Queen Elizabeth's death, the Lords sent their Letter to James with the Proclamation of his title to the Kingdoms.

The King's official Letter in answer, was dated at Halirood house on March the 27th, and continued the Council in their "offices and charges." His second Letter, dated the day following, contained his re-appointment of the old Officers of Justice, Privy Councillors, and subordinate ministers.

The Letters here produced, are dated the 6th. 13th. and 15th. of April.

The first is from Berwick, immediately upon the King's entering England. It acknowledges the receipt of money, which had been sent that his Majesty might come forward in befitting state. James speaks with due respect in this Letter of the dignity appertaining to the late Queen, but, very properly, says nothing of his affection for her. His own Queen he left behind for the present: desiring, in the mean time, that Elizabeth's jewels and other furniture, coaches, horses, litters, saddles, &c. might be forwarded for her Majesty's accommodation. The Jewels, as will be seen in the third Letter, the Council neglected to send.

The second Letter, dated from Newcastle April the 13th. commands Coins of different denominations to be struck, in gold and silver, preparatory to the Coronation. Pence of silver are not mentioned; but, THREE HALFPENNY PIECES: none of which appear to have been coined. Elizabeth was the only sovereign of England who struck them, with (Three Farthing pieces,) from 1561 to 1572. They were never coined before, or after her time. The direction for striking Coins so early, accounts for the absence of a Coronation Medal of James.

The third Letter, dated April 15th, from Sir William Engleby's at Topcliff, expresses some little discontent that so few of the nobility went out to meet the King. "When we had increased the number of you (whereof since yourselves for some cause *have suspended th'execution*) we did

think that some of the youngest of you might have come toward us." The Jewels are again mentioned; and such only required to be sent as were mete for ordinary apparelling the Queen, distinct from the principal jewels of State. Some of the Ladies too, of all degrees, who were about the late Queen, are directed to meet the new Queen upon her entry into the realm.

JAMES R.

RIGHT trusty and right welbeloved Cousins and Counsellors we greet you well. This day is Roger Ashton come to us with the money sent by you, for your diligence wherein used we give you our hartie thancks, and have thought good to let you knowe that we are thus farre on our way having made our entry into this Towne about four or five of the Clocke in the Afternoone and from hence we purpose within a day or two to remove to Newcastle, and so to hasten towards you as much as convenyently we may; and will be at Burghley, as you advise, we hope in short tyme, and there be glad to see you. But touching your opynion that so farre we should come as it were in privat maner, and that thither you would send us such provision as you should thinck to be needfull for our honnor, we have thought good to let you understand that we could be well contented so to do, were it not that our Citie of Yorke lyeth so neere in our way, as, we cannot well passe by it. And being a place of so much note in the separts of our Kingdome, and the second Citie therof, and the Country so full of Nobillitie and Gentlemen of the best sort,

we do thinck it fitt for our honnor and for the contentation of our subjects in those quarters to make our Entry there in some such solempne maner as appertaynith to our dignitie. Wherfore we require you that all such things as you in your wisdomes thinck meet for such a purpose, and which you intended to have sent to Burghley, that you will cause them to be sent to Yorke so as they may be there before we make our Entry, and serve to do us honor at the same. For your owne persons we can well be content to spare your travaile, the jorny being so long, and expect you at Burghley, except anie of you that is able to abyde such travaile shall thincke fitt to come to Yorke to us. As touching our guard, because we are informed that the custome of this Kingdome hath ben that they should attend the Corpse of the Prince deceased untill the Funeralls, we can be well contented therein to do that and all other honnor that we may unto the Queene defunct. And likewise for the point of her enterrement to be done before our coming or after, we doe referre it to your consideration, whether shall be more honor for her to have it fynished before we come, or to have us present at it. For that we do so much respect the dignitie to her appertayning, being not only successor to her in the Kingdome, but so neere as we are of bloude, as we will not stande so much upon the Ceremonies of our owne joy, but that we would have in that which concernith her all that

to be done, which may most testifie the honnor we doe beare towards her memory. Wherfore as we referre this point to your consideration, so do we desire to heare therein your advises speedely, that we may frame our jorneys thereafter. Further forasmuch as we do intend to bring into this Realme, as soone as possibly we can, both the Queene our wyfe and our two elder children, which be able to abyde the travaile; we must recommend to your consideration the sending hither of such Jewells and other furnyture which did appertaine to the late Queene, as you shall thincke to be meet for her estate; and also Coaches, Horses, Litters, and whatsoever els you shall thinck meet. And in the doing thereof these shall be warrant to you to commaund those that have the keeping of any such Jewells or stuffes for the delyvery therof to you, or to such persons as you shall appoint to receave and convey them to us. And forasmuch as for many services necessarily to be attended both about the Queenes Funeralls, our reception into the Cities and Townes of this our Realme, and our Coronation, the use of a Lord Chamberlain is very needfull, and that the Lord Hunsdon, who now hath that place, is not able by reason of his indisposition to execute the services belonging to his charge, we have thought good to appoint our right trustie and right welbeloved the lord Thomas Howard of Walden to exercise that place for thesaide Lord Hunsdon; and

for that purpose we have directed our Lettres specially to him. Gyven under our Signet at o^r^ Towne of Berwick the vj^th^ of Aprill 1603. the first yeare of our raigne of England.

To o^r^ right trusty and right welbeloved Cousins and Councellors the Lords and others of our Privie Councell, at London.

LETTER CCXL.

King James the First to the Lords: with directions for a Coinage.

[MS. IN MUS. ASHMOL. OXON. *Orig.*]

JAMES R.

RIGHT trusty and right welbeloved Cousins, and right trustie and welbeloved, forasmuch as we understand that the custome of our Progenitors, Kings of this Realme, hath ben to have some new Moneys made in their owne name against the day of their Coronation, which we thinck good to keepe, We have thought good to signifie our pleasure to you, in whome the trust of all our waighty affaires restith untill our coming, for the making of new moneys in our Stile, Name, and Armes. You shall therfore give order to the Warden of our Mynt and Woorkmaster of our moneys there (who our pleasure is that upon the sight

herof shall take your Warrant to them directed in our name for a sufficient warrant for them to proceed therein according to your directions) that they shall with all speede cause such quantitie of moneys to be forged of gould and sylver, or either of them, as you shall appoint, of the usuall standard in our Syster's dayes for waight and fynenes, and likewise of the usuall peeces of Soveraignes, Crownes and Half crownes for gould, and of twelve pence, six pence, three pence, and three half pence for silver wth our Armes on th'one side in this maner quartered, in the first quarter the Armes of France and England quarterly, as they have ben used to be borne, in the second quarter our Armes of Scotland, in the third the Harpe of Irland, and in the fourth quarter the first scutchion of the Armes of France and England quarterly againe, and about the same to be written *Exurgat Deus dissipentur inimici:* and on the other side our head crowned, of the proportion used before in the moneys, and about it our style *Jacobus Dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, &c.* And for the buying of bullion of gould and sylver, or either, to make the said moneys, our pleasure is that you give your Warrant to our Treasurer and Chamberlains of our Exchequer to delyver to the Warden of our Mynt such sommes of money, as you shall thinck fytt to allott for the provision of Bullion to be made in such moneys. And that lykewise yf need be you give war-

rant to the Graver and Syncker of the Yrons of our Mynt to make Stampes for the said moneys, graven as above we have appointed our Moneys to be printed. Gyven under our Signet at our Towne of Newcastle the xiijth day of Aprill 1603 in the first yeare of our raigne of England.

LETTER CCXLI.

King James the First to the Lord Keeper and the other Ministers, upon the neglect of the Nobility to meet him; the Jewels for his Queen; &c.

[MS. IN MUS. ASHMOL. OXON. *Orig.*]

JAMES R.

RIGHT trusty and right welbeloved Cousins and Councellors, we greet you well. Your Lettre of the thirteenth we receaved this Afternoone about fowre of the Clock, being newly arryved here at the house of M^{r} William Engleby in our way to York, where we purpose to be to morow at night the xvjth of this moneth. For answere to the contents of your Lettre we would have you remember that you may perceave by our former Lettres that we never urged your personall repaire to us farther or sooner then our affaires

there would permitt you. But when we had increased the nomber of you (wherof since your selves for some causes have suspended th'execution) we did thinck that some of the yongest of you might have come toward us. But that being now altered, we desire that you do not remove from the charge you have in hand, where we knowe you sustaine double paine, out of the travaile in our affaires, and the other for want of our presence, which wee hope shall not be now long from you, for that we purpose not to stay any where above one day untill we come to Theobalds, where we hope to be the xxviijth or xxixth of this moneth at the farthest. Touching the Jewells to be sent for our Wyfe, our meaning is not to have any of the principall Jewells of State to be sent so soone nor so farre of, but only such as, by the opynion of the Ladyes attendant about the late Queene our Syster, you shall fynde to be meet for the ordynarie apparelling and ornament of her; the rest may come after when she shall be neerer hand. But we have thought good to put you in mynde that it shall be convenyent that besydes Jewells you send some of the Ladyes of all degrees who were about the Queene, as soone as the funeralles be past, or some others, whome you shall thinck meetest and most willing and able to abyde travaile, to meet her as farre as they can at her entry into the Realme, or soone after; for that we hold needfull for her honor: and that they do speedily enter into their jorney for that we

would have her here with the soonest. And as for Horses, Lytters, Coaches, Sadles, and other things of that nature, wherof we have heretofore written, for her use, and sent to you our Cousin of Worcester, We have thought good to let you knowe that the proportion mentioned in your particuler Lettre to us shall suffice in our opynion for her. And so you may take order for the sending of them away with the Ladyes that are to come, or before, as you shall thinck meetest. Gyven under our Signet at Topcliff the xvth day of Aprill in the first yeare of our reigne of England.

To our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousins and Councellors o^{r}. Keeper of our Great Seale of England, our High Treasurer of England, our Admirall of England, the M^{r}. of our Horse, and our principall Secretary for the tyme being.

LETTER CCXLII.

Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Parry, on the King's approach toward London.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. E. X. fol. 217. *Orig.*]

* * * * * * * *

His Majesty is now come on his journey hitherwards as farr as Burghley Howse, and on Tuesday next is exspected at my House at Theobalds; from thence he comes to Charter-house to my lord Thomas

Howards, and so to the Tower of London. His Coronation is deferred tyll the 25th of July next, against which tyme the Queen his wyf, and his two eldest children that are fyttest for travell, are lyke to be here present.

Tomorrow being Thursday, wee doe solemnise the funerails at Westminster of her late Majesty of most happy memory, and then the nobility and state prepareth to goe to meet the King, and to conduct him to London.

One thing I had almost forgotten to tell you, whereof happily you may heare that it is true, that his Majesty as he was a hunting[a] gott a fall of his horse; but God be thanked he hath no harme at all by it, and it is no more then may befall any other great and extreame ryder, as he is, at least once every month. I thought good to geve you notice of this, to prevent all bruits and rumours, which commonly encrease as they goe, and are reported at the worst. And so for this tyme I take my leave and remayne

Your loving and assured frend

RO: CECYLL.

Whitehall this 27th Aprill 1603.

To the right honorable
Sir Thomas Parry knight
his Majesty's Ambassador with
the French King.

[a] The Continuator of Stow says "The two and twentieth of April, his Highness rode toward Beaver castle, *hunting all the way as he rode.*" Stow's Annales, edit. 1631. p. 821.

A brief Diary of King James's Progress to London, will not be misplaced here. He left Edinburgh for Dunglass on the 5th. of April 1603, and on the 6th. came to Berwick. On the 8th. he went to Withrington, Sir Robert Cary's; and on the 9th. to Newcastle. April 13th. to Durham. On the 14th to Walworth, sixteen miles from Durham where he was entertained at the house of a lady, Mrs. Genlon. On the 15th. to Topcliffe, Mr. afterward Sir William Engleby's. On the 16th. to York. On the 19th. to Pomfret, where having viewed the Castle he went on to Doncaster and lodged for that night at the sign of the Bear and Sun. April 20th. to Worksop, the Earl of Shrewsbury's. 21st. to the Castle of Newark upon Trent. 22d. to Belvoir Castle. 23d. to Burleigh. 27th. to Hinchinbrooke, Sir Oliver Cromwell's. 29th. to Royston, where the King lay at his own charges at the house of one Mr. Chester. 30th. to Standon, Sir Thomas Sadler's. May 2d. to Broxbourn, Sir Henry Cock's. May 3d. to Theobalds. May 7th. from Theobalds to London, to the Charter House, Lord Thomas Howard's, where his Majesty staid four days. On the 11th. of May the King went from the Charter House to Whitehall, and thence to the Tower.

The most important occurrence of the Journey was at Newark. "In this Town," says the continuator of Stow, "and in the Court, was taken a cut-purse doing the deed, and being a base pilfering thief, yet was all gentleman-like in the outside: this fellow had good store of coin found about him, and upon examination confessed that he had from Berwick to that place played the cut-purse in the Court. The KING hearing of this gallant, directed a Warrant to the Recorder of Newark to have him hanged, WHICH WAS ACCORDINGLY EXECUTED, and all the rest of the prisoners in the Castle were pardoned."[a]

The Queen arrived at York, with her two eldest children, Prince Henry and the lady Elizabeth, on the 11th. of June, where they rested several days. They went thence to Grimstone; and on the 27th. to East Neston, the seat of Sir George Farmer, whence according to the Continuator of Stow, the King having met them, they proceeded to Sir John Fortescue's.

A beautiful Letter from Dr. Tobie Matthews, bishop of Durham, to Prince Henry, inviting him with the Queen to take rest at Bishops Aukland on their way, is preserved among the Harleian Manuscripts in the Museum. It is as follows:

"After the remembrance of my most bounden duty to your Grace, the service I owe to the King's most excellent Majesty, together with the royal favours I have received at his gracious hands, hath imboldened me to become an humble and earnest suitor that your Grace would vouchsafe to accept of such sober enterteynment as my simple House in your waie hitherward may afford yourself and so many of your retinue as it may receive; wherein I shall acknowledge myself exceedingly debt-bound to your

[a] Stow, An. edit. 1631. p. 821.

Excellency. And albeit many other places may haply be more acceptable to your Grace thereabout, yet your Grace cannot be more welcome to any place than to that poor cell of mine, where I would most gladly have given myne attention purposely, had I not by his Majesty's commandment been appointed to remayne here until the Coronation; which I hope will seem a more necessary than voluntary excuse of my present absence from awayting both of the Queen's Highnes and yourself. Thus presuming your Grace will yield favourable inclination to this my dutiful and lowly petition I most humbly take my leave, or rather bid you most heartily welcome to that my homely house at Awkelande, beseeching Almighty God infinitely to bless you, and mightily to preserve you throughout this long and tedious Journey. At London this last of May 1603.

Your Graces most humble and affectionate

TOBIE DURESM."

To the high and mighty Prince
Henry Prince of Wales
Dukè of Cornwall, my
singuler good Lord his Grace."

Charles Duke of Albany, the second son of James, being an infant not yet three years old, remained in Scotland till the following year. He began his journey for England July 16th. 1604.

Hume, speaking of the exultation of James's new subjects, as he passed from Scotland to London, thinks he was in haste, in making his returns of kindness and good offices. The following List of persons knighted on the Journey *from* SCOTLAND *to* BELVOIR CASTLE, with their Counties, amounting to a hundred and twenty-one in number, is preserved in the Lansdowne volume, Num. 94. art. 56.

" *In Scotland.*

Sir John Peyton, son to the Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

" *At Barwicke.*

Sir William Selbye.
Sir Ralph Grey. } Northumb.

" *At Woodrington.*

Sir William Fenwick.
Sir Henry Woodrington. } Northumb.

Sir Edward Gorges.
Sir Robert Delavale. Northumb.
Sir Bartheram Bulmer. Bishopr.
Sir Christopher Lowther.
Sir Nicholas Curwen. } Cumberl.
Sir James Billingham.
Sir . . . . . Anderson, Maior of Newcastle.
Sir Nicholas Tufton of Kent.
Sir John Conyers. Bishopr.

" *At York, the* 17th *of April.*

Sir William Cecill.
Sir Edm. Trafford. Lancashire.
Sir Thomas Holcroft. Chesh.
Sir Philip Constable.
Sir Richard Wortley.
Sir Christopher Hilliard.
Sir H. Chomley.
Sir Richard Gargrave.
Sir Maur. Vavasor.
Sir Ralph Ellarker.
Sir William Inglebie.
Sir John Mallorie.
Sir Marmaduke Grimston.
Sir Fra. Boynton.
Sir Ralph Bapthorpe.
Sir Robert Swifte.
Sir H. Bellasses.
Sir He. Griffith.
Sir Thomas Fairfax, Gilling
Sir Launcelot Alford.
Sir George Trevill.

" 19th. *April, at Sir Edward Stanhope's House at Grimston.*

Sir Roger Ashton, his Majesty's servant.
Sir James Harrington. Rutl.
Sir Charles Mountague. North.
Sir Thomas Dawney. Yorksh.
Sir Thomas Levell. Norf.
Sir Thomas Holte. Warwicksh.
Sir Thomas Ashton. Chesh.
Sir Tho. Gerrard. Lanc. the pencion.
Sir William Bamburghe. Yorksh.
Sir Robert Walter, Maior of York.

" 21. *At Worsop in Nottinghamsh.*

Sir John Manners.
Sir Peter Frechville. } Derbysh.
Sir John Harpur. }
Sir Edward Cockeyn. }
Sir Henry Grey, nephew to the Earl of Kent.
Sir H. Perpointe. } Nottinghamsh.
Sir Pers Willoughbie. }
Sir John Brion. }
Sir H. Beaumont. } Leicestersh.
Sir William Skipwith. }
Sir Francis Newport. Salop.

Sir Thomas Greysley. Staffordshire.
Sir Hugh Smith. Somersetshire.
Sir Thomas Stanley. } Cheshire.
Sir William Davenport. }
Sir Edm. Lucie. Hertf.
Sir Walter Cope. Middlesex.
Sir Richard Thickeston. Yorksh.

" 22d *April. At Newark Castle, Nottingh.*

Sir Richard Mompesson. }
Sir Robert Brett. }
Sir John Parker. }
Sir Lewis Lewkenor. } The late Queen's servants
Sir Richard Warburton. }
Sir Richard Wigmore. }
Sir James Foxe. Salop.
Sir Francis Duckett. Westm.

" *That day, in the way to Bever Castle, Nottinghamsh.*

Sir John Stanhope.
Sir Bryan Lasells.
Sir William Sutton.
Sir Roger Ascoughe, Sheriff.

" 23d *April at Bever Castle.*

Sir Oliver Manners. }
Sir William Willoughby. }
Sir Thomas Willoughby. }
Sir William Pelham. }
Sir Thomas Grantham. }
Sir Philip Turwhit. }
Sir Anthonie Markeham. }
Sir William Carre. }
Sir John Thorolde. }
Sir Edward Ascoughe. }
Sir H. Packenham. }
Sir Roger Dallison. } *Lincolnsh.*
Sir Edm. Bussey. }
Sir Edwa. Turwhit. }
Sir Edw. Carre. }
Sir William Armyn. }
Sir Nich. Saunderson. }
Sir Valentine Browne. }
Sir Richard Ogle. }
Sir Ham. Whichcott. }
Sir Edw. Rosseter. }
Sir William Hickman. }

Sir H. Hastings.	Leicestersh.
Sir Tho. Beaumont.	
Sir H. Beaumont of Gracedieu.	
Sir William Turpyn.	
Sir Thomas Cave.	
Sir Philip Sherrard.	
Sir William Skevington.	
Sir William Faunte.	
Sir Basil Brooke.	
Sir George Manners.	Derbysh.
Sir John Zouche.	
Sir Edw. Swifte.	Yorksh.
Sir William Fairfax.	
Sir Philip Strelley.	Nottingh.
Sir John Thorney.	
Sir John Ferrers.	Staffordsh.
Sir Edw. Littleton.	
Sir William Feildinge.	Warwicksh.
Sir Everard Digbye.	Rutlandsh.
Sir Gregory Cromwell.	
Sir John Wentworth.	Essex.
Sir William Jepson.	Southampt.
Sir Wa. Chewte.	Sussex."

Twenty-eight Knights were subsequently made by the King at Theobalds. According to the Continuator of Stow the creation of Sir William Gardener at the Tower on the 20th. of May "made up (as was accompted) the number of two hundred thirty and seven knights, or better, made since the King entred Berwicke."[a]

LETTER CCXLIII.

King James the First to his son Prince Henry, upon his leaving Scotland to take possession of the Crown of England.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 39. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

*** The Reader is here presented with a Letter, the writing of which seems to have cost the King some pains: and we have already seen that when he chose to take pains, he could write well. We have in it too, his own character of his "Basilicon Doron."

[a] Stow ut supr. p. 824.

The Letter which succeeds, is another specimen of James's better style. Later in life he grew slovenly in every thing: and in nothing more slovenly than in the composition of his familiar Letters. Some strange specimens of these to Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham will presently be given.

My Sonne, that I see you not before my pairting impute it to this great occasion quhairin tyme is sa preciouse; but that shall by Goddis grace shortlie be recompencid by youre cumming to me shortlie, and continuall residence with me ever after. Lett not this newis make you proude, or insolent, for a Kings sonne and heire was ye before, and na maire ar ye yett. The augmentation that is heirby lyke to fall unto you, is but in caires and heavie burthens. Be thairfor merrie, but not insolent; keepe a greatnes, but *sine fastu*; be resolute but not willfull; keepe your kyndnes, but in honorable sorte; choose nane to be youre play fellowis but thame that are well borne; and above all things give never goode countenance to any but according as ye shall be informed that thay are in æstimation with me. Looke upon all Englishe men that shall cum to visite you as upon youre loving subjectis, not with that ceremonie as towardis straingeris, and yett with such hartlines as at this tyme thay deserve. This gentleman quhom this bearare accumpanies is worthie, and of guide ranke, and nou my familiare servitoure; use him thairfore in a maire hamelie loving sorte nor otheris. I sende you herewith my booke latelie prentid[a]: studdie and profite in it as ye wolde

[a] The "ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ; or His Majestie's Instructions to his dearest

deserve my blessing; and as thaire can na thing happen unto you quhairof ye will not finde the generall grounde thairin, if not the verrie particulaire pointe touched, sa mon ye levell everie mannis opinions or advyces unto you as ye finde thaime agree or discorde with the reulis thaire sett doun, allouing and following thaire advyces that agrees with the same, mistrusting and frouning upon thaime that advyses you to the contraire. Be diligent and earnist in your studdies, that at your meiting with me, I maye praise you for youre progresse in learning. Be obedient to youre maister, for youre awin weill, and to procure my thankis; for in reverencing him ye obeye me, and honoure youreselfe. Fairuell.

Youre loving Father

JAMES R.

Sonne, Henry the Prince": published at Edenburgh, and reprinted immediately upon the King's arrival, at London 1603. 12mo.

The autograph of this Work, in King James's ôwn hand, is still extant in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 18 B. xv. It is bound in purple velvet, and adorned upon one side with the Arms and supporters of Scotland upon a plate of gold, crowned, surrounded by the collar and jewel of St. Andrew, with this motto below, IN MY DEFENCE GOD ME DEFEND. The borders of the cover were formerly adorned with thistles in gold, two or three only of which are now remaining.

Prefixed to the Manuscript is the following Sönnet to Prince Henry; different from that which appears in front of the Work as printed.

"SONETT.

Loe heir my Sone a mirror viue and fair
Quhilk schawis the schadow of a vorthie King;
Loe heir a booke, a paterne dois zow bring
Quhilk ze sould preas to follow mair and mair.
This trustie freind the treuthe will never spair,
Bot give a guid advyse unto zow heir,
How it sould be zour chief and princelie cair
To follow vertew, vyce for to forbeare:
And in this Booke zour Lesson vill ze leire
For gyding of zour people great and small:
Than, as ze aucht, gif ane attentive eare
And paus how ze thir preceptis practise sall:
Zour father biddis zow studie heir and reid
How to become a perfyte King indeid."

LETTER CCXLIV.

King James to Prince Henry, apparently still in Scotland.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 40. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

My Sonne I ame glaid that by youre Letre I maye persave that ye make some progresse in learning; althoch I suspecte ye have rather written then dyted it; for I confesse I longe to ressave a Letter from you that maye be quhollie youris, as well maitter as forme; as well formid by youre mynde as drawin by youre fingers. For ye maye remember that in my Booke to you, I warne you to be waire with that kynde of witte that maye stye out at the end of youre fingers; not that I commende not a faire hande wrytting, *sed hoc facito, illud non omittito,* and the other is *multo magis præcipuum.* But nothing will be impossible for you if ye will onlie remember two rewlis, the one *aude semper* in all vertuouse actions; truste a little more to youre owin strenth, and awaye with chyldishe bashefullnes; *audaces fortuna juvat, timidosque repellit:* the other is my olde ofte repeatid rewle unto you, Quhat ever ye are about, *hoc age.* I ame also glaide of the discoverie of yone litle counterfitte Wenche. I praye God ye maye be my aire in such discoveries. Ye have ofte hearde me saye that most miracles nou

a dayes proves but illusions, and ye maye see by this hou waire judgis should be in trusting accusations withoute an exacte tryall; and lykewayes hou easielie people are inducid to trust wonders. Lett her be kepte fast till my cumming; and thus God blesse you my sonne.

Youre loving father

JAMES R.

LETTER CCXLV.

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Thomas Parry, after the Arrival of the Queen.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. E. X. fol. 341. *Orig.*]

RIGHT HONORABLE

I SENT your L. by Flud the trumpet, as much news as I could call to minde, and though there be little happened . . . . worth th'advertising yet being now to leave this towne and . . . . to settle my self in Court attendance, I would not but take my leave of your L. before my departure. The sicknes doth spread very much, and it is feared it will prove a great plague, by reason of which the terme is adjorned, but the Coronation holdes at the appointed time:

which shall be performed with much solemnity, and all the old ceremonies observed. I send your L. a list of such Barons and Knights of the Bath as shall be then made, at lest they are such as are sett downe by the common voyce of the people.

On Sonday last the King being at Windsore gave the Order of the Garter to the Duke of Lennox, th'Earles of Marre, Southampton, and Pembrooke.

Amongst other donations I omitted in my last to tell y^r^ L. how his Ma^ty^. hath released to S^r^ W. Rauleigh the annuity of 300^li^ a yeare which was payde owt of his goverment of Jersy.

The Queen lieth this night at S^r^ John Fortescues where the King meetes her. She giveth great contentment to the world in her fashion and curteous behavior to the people. Her court is verry great of ladies and gentlewoemen; but I heare of none she hath admitted to her privy chamber, or in place neere abowt her, save the Lady Bedford who was sworne of the Privy Chamber in Scotland, and the Lady Kilda to whom she hath given the government of the Princes. Sir George Carew who posted before in hope of some speciall place about her, hath not found the wellcome he lookt for. It is exspected the two Courts being joyned will produce somewhat extraordinary. Your L. shall heare from me uppon all occasions. For this

time I most humbly take my leave. From London this 28 of June $\frac{8}{-}$

Y^r^ L^ps^ obliged Servant

DUDLEY CARLETON.

To the Right honorable my singuler goode Lord Thomas Parry Knight, Ambassador for his Ma^ty^. w^th^. the French K.

LETTER CCXLVI.

. . . . . *to Sir Edward Hoby, on the Arrival of Mustapha the Turk.*

[MS. COTTON. NERO B. XI. fol. 245. *Orig.*]

*** The Visit of the first Turkish Ambassador to England presents a picture worth preserving.

The panic which had seized on Europe at the close approach of the Ottoman power in the fifteenth Century, fixed a jealousy which was not very quickly removed. Above a century elapsed before any of the Powers in this part of Europe could be persuaded to send a minister to the Turk; and near a century and a half, before his accredited Agents were received at their Courts.

The TURKEY COMPANY was established in this country in 1579, after Amurath the Third, upon a treaty between William Harborne and Mustapha Beg a Turkish bassa, had granted to the English merchants the same freedom of traffic through his empire as was at that time enjoyed by the French, the Venetians, the Polonians, and the Germans.

It was probably upon this occasion that the thought of sending an embassador to the Porte from England, was first entertained. The caution with which the proposal was considered will appear from the following Paper preserved among the Lansdowne Manuscripts: evidently written about the middle of Lord Burghley's administration.

"*Matters to be considered for the honor of her Majestie and of the Realme.*

1. Whether it be requisite to give any present to the Grand Signor in the name of her Majesty; sith he taketh all Presents of the Christian

Princes to be as tributes: and for such are they registred in his Records: which being once begun, he looketh for the continuance thereof, as of duty; and the greater value that the Present is made, the greater duty and subjection he taketh hold of thereby.

2. Whether the Messenger or Nuncio which carrieth the Present with her Majesty's Letters for the Grand Signor, shall deliver the same himself, sith there is not yet any Embassador.

3. Whether the Ship which carrieth the Present and the Nuncio, shall be said to be one of Her Majesty's Ships, or to be sent thither by her Majesty.

4. Whether the Nuncio himself shall declare to the Grand Signor her Majesty's gratulation, or shall commit the same to be done by the Agent left there.

5. Whether the Nuncio shall make demand of the Grand Signor that her Majesty's Embassador may have as great allowances for his entertainment there as have the Embassadors of France, Polonia, and other Christian Princes; sith her Majesty is a Prince of absolute power not inferior, nor nedy of help of any of them.

6. Whether the Nuncio himself shall make demand of the Grand Signor for any greater privilege or benefit to the Merchants than was before granted, in any respect of matters happened since: or shall commit the same to be done by the Agent left there.

7. If Question be asked of the Nuncio touching the State of her Majesty and the Realme in these wars with Spain, or otherwise, what answer shall he make therein"[a].

Harborne remained as agent at Constantinople, partly for the English government and partly for the merchants, till about 1591, when he was succeeded as embassador by M^r. Edward Barton, and he, in 1601, by M^r. Henry Lello, who remained at Constantinople at least till 1605.

The Turk, however, had no minister, or agent, during all this time, resident in England.

A Letter from M^r. Thomas Wilson to Sir Thomas Parry the English minister in France, dated from the Court at Greenwich June 12^th. 1603, has this passage in it respecting King James the First, whose prejudices, it appears, for some time, revolted even at the thought of corresponding with Turkey. "For matters of Turkey and Russe, and those barbarous Princes," the writer says, "I think we are like to have some change. The King made great difficulty to sign the Letters to the latter, and to the former denied absolutely ever to do it; saying, that for Merchants causes he would not do things unfitting a Christian Prince. Yet haply he will be brought to it in time"[b].

[a] MS. Lansd. Num. 112.

[b] MS. Cotton. Calig. E. x. fol. 359.

HONOURABLE KNIGHT

Hoping to finde pardon for my long silence, I will at this present embolden my selfe to resume that duty which I have so long dispensed with.

The Letter inclosed containeth, as you see, a recommendation of the Turke lately arrived, both from his quality and his errand, by that famous Murat-Rey admiral of Algier, being now a man of seventy yeares olde, who heretofore was as much renowned for his exploits in the Levant seas, as ever Drake was for his attempts upon the Ocean.

For the person of this Mustapha, he seemes to me and others that have visited him, a man of a goodly presence and a gallant spirit, sociable, affable, and full of intertainment to all comers, and one who to give the better content to those that come to see him, is content to dispense with some of his Turkish fashions, and to accustome himselfe to ours. For being invited to accompany S^r^ Thomas Low governor of the Company to diner, I saw Mustapha sitt in a chayer at the bourdes ende, and drink a solemne helth to the King of Great Brittaine and the Grand Signor. He hath bene two yeares in his Journey, having accompanied Mons^r^. de Brebis the French ambassador through Natolia, Armenia, Soria, Palæstina, Ægypt, and Barbary as far as Algier, where indeed they stayed seven moneths, and where the French Ambassador by his meanes was in good hope to have obtained of the King

there and Murat-Rey the Coral-fishing upon the Coast of Algier, which was flatly denyed him. With this denyal they went both for Marsellis, where Monsr. de Brebis, for the courtesies he had received at this mans hand in so long a Journey, promised he would make the King his Master acquainted with the worthines of the man and with his message, and then would come and fetch him. But there Mustapha attended six months, and heard neither by word nor letter from Monsr de Brebis. Hereupon he wrote to the French King that he had the Grand Signors Letters, and that he hoped he would not deny him the lawe of nations, but would graunt him accesse and audience as the Grand Signor used to do to the ambassadors of all Christian Princes. The French King wrote an answer persuading him to returne back, and sending him a present of 1000 crownes. Which present he refused, and did still peremptorily demand audience and his charges to be defrayed, which in the end was granted him. His errand to the French King was for the release of 150 Turkes chained to the Gallies at Marsellis, the greater part wherof Count Maurice released out of Spinola's Gallies at the winning of Scluse. He saith he brought with him from Algier 80 French captives, wherof four were circumcised, and delivered them up freely at Marsellis, and yet in seven moneths aboad there he could not get one Turke released. Many other things he reporteth of the perfidy of the French nation,

and saith, he liketh neither their fashion nor dyet, their meat being so larded with hogs-flesh, as he could not eat of it. During his aboad there the King allowed him 15 crownes aday, and in fine dissuaded him, as did also our Ambassadour, from coming hither. But all in vaine; and so he gott a passe from Sir George Carew, and would not land at Dover till he had indented with Sir Thomas Waller that he should be defrayed during his aboad. He is come but slenderly attended, with some dozen of Turkes, wherof three only are civilly appareld, the rest looking like the ambassadors that came to Josua with old shooes and threed-bare apparel. For his owne person he hath many changes of garments very rich, and several turbants, and hath brought with him either for presents or for a pledge in time of necessity, twenty one pieces of cloth of gold and silver, valued at 1000 markes. His emploiments, he saith, have been five times to Venice, once into Persia, once into Tartary, twise into France, and now the first of his Nation that ever came into England. Besides he saith, he was, some eight years ago, treasurer of the warres to Sinan Bassa, when Raab alias Saverin was won from the Christians, and when M^r^ Barton our ambassadour was in the army. He had the charge there (beleeve him who list) of 3600 Camels laden with checkins, 40,000 upon a Camel, which being cast up do amount to 144 millions of checkins, which is almost 50 millions of poundes

sterling. As concerning his message mentioned in the Letter of Murat-Reyes, he saith, ther is much talke at Constantinople and Marsellis of English pirats in the Levant seas: but he saith that in all his long journy he could meet but with one; nor could he hear of any more, but of French and Italian Corsares as many as were haires in his bearde. This one English pirate, being, as I take it, one Captaine Warde, and, combined with the Turkes, he mett at Alger; wher the French Ambassador requested Murat-Reys to moove Ward to be favourable to the French. 'I favourable to the French?' (quoth he) 'I tell You if I should meet mine own father at sea, I would robb him, and sell him when I had done.' Then Mustapha asked him whether he would command him any service into England for the procuring of his pardon, he answered that he would never see England againe but would be buried in the Sea.

Mustapha desires to be dispatched, and to returne home not by the way of France, but by sea: but he will hardly gett his audience till the King come to Salisbury. His table standes the Merchants in some £4 a day.

* * * * * * * *

Strand, this Tuesday Morning, Aug. 1607. Yor^s^. *a centro cordis.*

LETTER CCXLVII.

The Princess Elizabeth, to her Father King James the First.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *Orig.*]

*** A few short Letters and Notes are now introduced to the Reader as specimens of the epistolary Correspondence of the Children of James the First in their younger years: chiefly between 1605 and 1610. They have at least the merit of brevity; and afford still further proof, should such be needed, that James the First took great pains to bestow the advantages of education upon his offspring.

SIRE

L'ESPERANCE que jay de vous voir bien tost et d'avoir l'honneur de recepvoir voz commandemens m'empeschera de vous faire ma lettre plus longue que pour baiser tres humblement les mains de vostre Majeste en quallite

Sire

de

Vostre treshumble

fille a vous servir

Au Roy. ELIZABETH.

LETTER CCXLVIII.

The Princess Elizabeth, to her brother Prince Henry.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *Orig.*]

My most worthy and dearest Brother: I geve you a million of thankes for the servant you sent mee, but

more for your kinde Letter, takyng few thinges so joyfully as to hear of your health, and though I cannot requite you with so pleasant a token, yet are these few lines a testymony of the affection of her whome you shall ever constantly finde

Yo[r] most loving sister

To my good brother
the Prince.

ELIZABETH.

LETTER CCXLIX.

The Princess Elizabeth to Prince Henry; a Letter of affection.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 52. *Orig.*]

WORTHY PRINCE AND MY DEAREST BROTHER:

I RECEIVED your most welcom Letter and kynd token by M[r] Hopkins, highly esteeming them as delightfull memorialls of your brotherly love. In which assuredly (whatsoever ells may fayle) I will ever endevor to equall you, esteeming that time happiest when I enjoyed your company, and desiring nothing more than the fruition of it again: that as nature hath made us neerest in our love together, so accident might not separate us from living together. Neither do I account yt the leste part of my present comfort, that though I am deprived of your happy presence,

yet I can make these lines deliver this true message, that I will ever bee during my lyfe

Your most kinde

To my most dear brother the Prince.

and loving syster

ELIZABETH.

LETTER CCL.

The Princess Elizabeth to Prince Henry, apparently after the Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 73. *Orig.*]

MONSIEUR MON CHER FRERE

Je ne doubte pas que vous n'ayez rendu graces a nostre bon Dieu, de la delivrance qu'il nous a donneé comme jay aussy fait et fais en mon particulier, mais je veux joindre mes voeuz auls vostre, et dire avec vous. Si le Seigneur est pour nous, qui sera contre nous, en sa garde je ne craindray cien que l'homme puisse faire. C'est de vous mon cher frere de qui j'attends des nouvelles. Les miennes sont fort bonnes. Graces a Dieu, fort desireuse de vous faire agreable service, et d'estre si heureuse d'avoir voz boonnes graces, comme estant

Monsieur mon cher frere

Vostre humble sœur a

vous servir

A Monsieur
Monsieur le Princè.

ELIZABETH.

LETTER CCLI.

Charles Duke of York, to his brother Prince Henry, offering to give him any thing he has.

[HARL. MS. 6986. *art.* 85. *Orig.*]

*** The following is probably the earliest Letter written by Prince Charles. The Signature only is his.

SWEET SWEET BROTHER

I THANK yow for your Letter. I will keep it better than all my graith: and I will send my pistolles by Maister Newton. I will give anie thing that I have to yow; both my horss, and my books, and my pieces, and my cross bowes, or anie thing that yow would haive. Good Brother loove me, and I shall ever loove and serve yow.

Your looving brother to be
commanded

YORK.

LETTER CCLII.

Charles Duke of York, to Prince Henry; respecting a suit to the King.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 86. *Orig.*]

SIR

PLEASE your H. your trustie Douglas will witnes what sport I have. He will acquaint you with

my sutte, which I pray you moove to his M. So kissing your handes I rest

Your H. most duetiefull

To his Hienesse. YORK.

LETTER CCLIII.

The Duke of York to Prince Henry; that he visits his Highness's Stables.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 87. *Orig.*]

Good brother, I hope you are in good helth and merry, as I am, God be thanked. In your absence I visit somtimes your stable, and ride your great horses, that at your return I may wait on you in that noble exercise. So committing you to God, I rest

Your loving and dutifull brother

YORK.

To my brother the Prince.

LETTER CCLIV.

Henry Prince of Wales to King James the First.

[HARL. MS. 7007. fol. 230. *Orig.*]

Please yo^{r} Ma^{tie} ———

I AM glad to have heard of your Ma^{ties} recovery, before I understood of your distemper by the heat of the weather. I have sent this bearer of purpose, to

returne word of yo^{r} Ma. good health, which I beseech God long to continew, as also to remember my most humble duety. He is lykewyse to acquaint yo^{r} Ma^{tie} that Mons^{r} le Grand hath sent me a horse by a French gentleman, wherewith I hope yo^{r} Ma^{tie} will be well pleased. The nexte Weeke I meane to use the benefit of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} gratious favour of hunting in Waltham forrest, the place appointed as fittest for the sport being Wansted. In the mean whyle, and after, I will employ my tyme at my booke the best I can to your Ma^{ties} satisfaction, whereof hoping your Ma^{tie} will rest assured I kisse most humbly your hands as

Yo^{r} Ma. most dutifull and

Agust 1608. obedient sonne.

LETTER CCLV.

The Duke of York to Prince Henry; that he hunts.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 88. *Orig.*]

SIR

PLEAS your H. I doe keepe your haires in breath (and I have very good sport) I doe wish the King and you might see it. So longing to see you, I kisse your hands, and rest

Yours to be commanded

My maydes service to you. YORK.

To his Hienesse.

LETTER CCLVI.

The Duke of York to Prince Henry; expressing kindness, and upon his studies.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 90. *Orig.*]

NIHIL possit mihi esse gratius, Frater charissime, tuo ad nos reditu; te enim frui, tecum equitare, tecum venari, summæ erit mihi voluptati. Ego jam lego Erasmi Colloquia, ex quibus et Latinæ linguæ puritatem et morum elegantiam discere posse me confido. Vale.

Tuæ celsnis frater amantissimus,

CAROLUS, *Eb. et Alb. Dux.*

Fratri charissimo [a].

LETTER CCLVII.

Prince Henry to the Dauphin of France; with a present of a Pair of Horses.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 92. *Orig.*]

MONSIEUR et frere, Le Roy mon pere envoyant un des miens vers sa Mate, je luy ay commandé vous

[a] Dated, on the back, 1609.

salver de ma part, vous presentant deux petits bidets, lesquels j'ay pensé qu' aurez agreables pour l'amour de moy, qui vous supplie croire qu'il ny a aucun plus desireux d'estre favorisé de voz bonnes graces, et de rencontrer quelque digne subject pour les pouvoir meriter que celuy qui s'est voüé,

Vostre tres affectionné frere
a vous servir,

A Monsieur le Dauphin. HENRY.

LETTER CCLVIII.

Charles Duke of York to the Prince; expressing his affection.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 100. *Orig.*]

Most loving Brother I long to see you, and hope that you will returne shortly, therfore I have presumed to wreat these few lynes to You that I may rest in your favour and ever bee thought

Your H. most loving brother and
obedient servant
CHARLES.

St. James 14. Mar. 1611.

To his Highness.

LETTER CCLIX.

Queen Anne of Denmark to King James I.

[MS. HARL. 6986. fol. 106. *Orig.*]

SIR

As nothing is more wellcom to me then your Letters (for which I thank yow) so can they bring me no better tidings then of your good health (of me much desired) for I cease not to praye for the encrease and continuance of your good both of mynde and bodie, and thereof rest assured. So kissing your handes I remaine she that will ever love

Yow best

ANNA R.

LETTER CCLX.

Lord Salisbury to Mr. Adam Newton, the Tutor of Prince Henry. A. D. 1607.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 90. *art.* 31. *Orig.*]

SIR

PERCEAVING by his Highness that he had heard of a malicious libell, for so I must tearme it) written by Persons the Jesuitt, and was desirous to see it, I have sent it yow to offer his Highnes with recommendacion of my humble service, hoping he shall find so

little left to Monarchy by these Catholick distinctions as he will never beleave that any Prince is other then a servant, if that doctrine be mayntayned whereof his royall father layd open the equivocation with so much learning and candor, as me thinkes this viper should not have presumed to have dipped his penne in the question if he had remembred that *Non est tutum contra eum scribere qui potest proscriberi.* From Kensington this 24 of August

Yo[r] assured loving friend

R. SALISBURY.

LETTER CCLXI.

Sir Henry Wotton to Henry Prince of Wales, from Venice.

[MS. HARL. 7007. fol. 226. *Orig.*]

May it please youre Highnesse.

THIS younge travaylor, sonn to Sig[r] Marc' Anthonio Correro (whom this Signorie now sendeth to reside with his Ma[tie]) seemed vnto me of so sweet a spiritt that it made me bolde to undertake the presenting of him unto youre Highnesse with thease few lines, and in them mine own humble and hartie zeale. And because youre Highnesse hath (as they are heere

well informed) been pleased sondrie tymes to inquire with much affection of the course of theire affayres and qualitie of theire Ministers, it shalbe fitt for me to give you some accoumpt of the present Ambassador: who is the third since the renewed frendship betwene Greate Britannie and this famouse Republique in the royal person of owre good King youre Father.

Il Signor Marc' Anthonio Correro is a gentleman of a very noble, but none of the foure and twenty which they call theire auncient howses. Strong in parentage on both sydes. Hymselfe a sole heire in his owne line: for one brother which he had is dead. His estate greater then both theires together that have preceded him, and he is likely not to be inferior to eather in the conserving of it. His complexion (as it should seeme) not strong for a long voiage which increaseth the merit of his goodwill thereunto. He was heere (and so were none of the other two nor any that I have yet seene imployid eather to Fraunce or Spayne) actually a Senator, and besides hath refused for this honor the regiment of Bergamo, unto which he was chosen, being one of theire principal Townes in Lombardie.

Of his internal habilities I am insufficient to judge, neather hath the jelousie of this Goverment suffered me much to practise him: but by such discourse as hath passed betweene us, he appeareth to be of a very moderat and ingenuouse temper, and professeth towardes his Ma^tie great reverence and devotion.

This is as much as I can say of him. And so with the harty prayers of this poore familie to the God of heaven for the continuance of his excellent graces and blessings uppon youre Highnesse, I humbly kisse youre sweete and princely hand, and rest

Youre zealous poore servant

From Venice this 16th. of August 1608: HENRY WOTTON.

Postscript

Having above made mention of twenty foure auncient howses, and imagining thereuppon youre Highnesse might aske which they be, I have thought fitt to include herein a note of them that you may knowe all other Venetian names to be more modern: which yet heere is no disadvantage: for the younge families doe commonly carie the Princedome.

LETTER CCLXII.

Anne of Denmark to Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham: announcing a Present from the King of Denmark.

[MS. HARL. 6986. fol. 132. *Orig.*]

MY KIND DOG

YOUR Letter hath bin acceptable to me; I rest alreadie assured of your carefulnesse. Yow maye tell your Maister that the King of Dennemarke hath sent me tuelf faire mares, and as the bringer of them assures

me, all great with foles, which I intend to put into Byfield Parke, where being the other daye a hunting I could find but verie few deare, but greate store of other cattle as I shall tell your Maister my self when I see him. I hope to meete you all at Woodstock at the time apponited, till when I wish you all happines and contentment.

ANNA R.

I thank yow for your paines taken in remembring the King for the pailing of me parke. I will doe you anie service I can.

To
Sir George Villiers.

LETTER CCLXIII.

Queen Anne of Denmark to the same; a Letter of familiarity.

[MS. HARL. 6986. fol. 136. *Orig.*]

MY KIND DOG

I HAVE receaved your Letter which is verie wellcom to me. Yow doe verie well in lugging the Sowes eare[a], and I thank yow for it, and would have yow doe so still upon condition that yow continue a watchfull dog to him and be alwaies true to him, So wishing you all happines

ANNA R.

[a] King James I.

C91736

LETTER CCLXIV.

Prince Charles to King James the First, a Letter of submission and apology.

[MS. HARL. 6986. p. 81. *Orig.*]

SIR

I CANNOT exprese the thankes I owe to so good a Father, first in showing my fault so rivelie, and then in forgiving my fault so frilie: albeit I cannot love and honnor youre Ma^tie^ more then I did, yet this shall learne me heerafter not to be so foulish as to sende anie sutche message as shall beare anie comment but my owen, which shall be as full of love and respect as a dewtifull sone can owe to so loving a Father, thinking I shall prosper no longer then I deserve to be cald

Your M^ties^ most humble and
obedient sone and servant

S^t^ James the 11 of March 1612 CHARLES.

To the King's M^tie^.

LETTER CCLXV.

Prince Charles to Lord Villiers, concerning an Offence which the King had taken.

[MS. HARL. 6986. fol. 83.]

STEENIE

THER is none that knowes me so well as yourselfe, what dewtiefull respect and love I have ever, and

shall ever carrie to Kinge: and therfor ye may juge what greefe it is to me to have the ill fortune as that anie of my actions should beare so ill an interpretation as I fynd by your Letter this message I sent by my Lo. Mongomerie has borne. I will no wais stand upon my justification, but desyre that my good meaning may be taken insted of the ill message. That which made me thinke that this message would not displease the King, was the command ye know he gave a good whyle ago that I should use all the menes I could to make the Queene make a will, wherby she should make over to me her Jewels: therfor I sent to have Kings aprobation of that which I thought he had desyred, and therfore I thought he would eather be glad then anie way displeased with the message; my meaning was never to clame anie thing as of right, but to submit my selfe as wel in this as in all other things to the King's pleasure. It doth greeve me much, that the King should be so much mouved with it as you say he is, for the least show of his displeasure would make me leave to medle, or thinke of anie such thing anie more, without showing himselfe openlie so angrie with me. To conclude, I pray you to commend my most humble service to his M^tie^ and tel him that I am verri sorri that I have done anie thing may offend him, and that I will be content to have anie pennance inflicted upon me so he may forgive me, althought I had

never a thought nor never shall have to displease him, yet I deserve to be punniched for my ill fortune. So hoping never to have occasion to wryt to you of so ill a subject againe, but of manie better, I rest

Your treu constant loving frend

CHARLES P.

I had written to the King before I receaved yours, but I hope you will mende anie thing that is amisse in the other with this for I did not thinke the Kinge had beene so angrie before I receaved yours.

LETTER CCLXVI.

King James the First to the Earl of Northampton, a Letter of raillery.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS. C. VI. fol. 156. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND-WRITING.]

*** There were two Earls of Northampton in different parts of the reign of James the First. *Henry Howard*, the younger son of the famous Earl of Surrey, was so created in 1604. He died in 1614. Five years after which, in 1619, *Sir William Compton* was advanced to this title, whose descendant is still Marquis of Northampton.

The Earl to whom the following Letter was addressed by King James, as is clear from the mention in it of the Union with Scotland, was HENRY HOWARD. He had been the instrument of Sir Robert Cecil's correspondence with the King in the reign of Elizabeth, whence, and from his learning, and from his relationship to Norfolk who suffered for the Queen of Scots, arose that friendship which James entertained for him. He was af-

terwards Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Governor of Dover Castle, and Lord Privy Seal.

Sir Anthony Weldon says of him what was unquestionably true, that, "though a great clerk he was yet not a wise man, but the grossest flatterer of the World."[a]. This last quality was also calculated to gain him James's kindness.

The share which he took in the black business of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder, in the last year of his life, has entitled him to the execration of mankind.

My faithfull if I hadde hadde aiy particulaire occasion worthie the troubling you with, to have reccomendit unto you all this tyme of my absence, youre lettirs shoulde not have bene ansourdes, but if for faulte of other matter I hadde desyred you to have bene diligent and cairfull in my affaires thaire, it hadde bene but to bidde a running man goe faster, quhiche is both unnecessarie and injuriouse, for I maye easielie judge of youre diligence by your accounte, for if the injuste Stewarde in the Gospell coulde have gevin as goode a *reddere rationem* for his diligence as ye have gevin to the cheif of the Stewardis, he had never bene castin in utter darkenes, and yett my eyes sawe all youre lettirs consumed with fyre, thoche without weeping or gnashing of teethe, my reading of thaim carieing lykewayes that other acherontide qualitie with it, that lyke as I hadde dronkin of Lethe floode, quhen any pointe contained in any of thaime is tolde me by any other personne, I can never

[a] Court and Character of King James, edit. 1650. p. 16.

remember to have hearde of it before. But nou I muste turne my penne to a farre contrarie style, repenting me of that epithete I give you in the first wordes heirof, for quhat can I thinke of youre affection to me, and the Union, quhen as youre Workes declaire the contrarie; I muste judge of youre mynde by youre actions and not by youre wordis; youre Orations in Parliament in advauncement of the Union are but wordis, but youre Officers severitie in Dover are actions; a strainge thing, that youre naturall avarice, and innate hatred to me and all Skotlande for my cause, shoulde make you to cause youre Officers, at suche a tyme, pyke shillings from poore Skottismen. Well I proteste to God, I thocht you at my pairting from you as honest a servande as ever King hadde, but quhat nou I thinke of you since the discoverie of this youre greate hipocrisie, judge ye, and according to youre faithe so be it unto you, as ever it be. I ame glaide that I have gottin this grounde to paye you hoame upon for youre often crewall and malicious speachis against babie Charlis and his honest father, but I knowe ye are nou so prowde of youre new patrone as ye littill care youre olde freindis. I knowe this wilbe the more wellcome that it is my præcursoure, being schortlie to follow, quho, lyke the Sunne in this season, ame mounting in my sphære and aproching to shyne upon youre horizon, and so

praying you to beleeve the contraire either of the first or last pairte of this lettir, I bidde you hairtelie fairwell for all great quarrell.

JAMES R.

To our right trustie and right
welbeloved Cousin and Councellor
the Earle of Northampton.

LETTER CCLXVII.

Sir Francis Cottington to Lord Northampton on the punishment of Duellists in Spain.

[MS. COTTON. TITUS C. IV. fol. 503. *Orig.*]

*** The Cottonian Volume, in which the original of the following Letter is preserved, contains a large mass of materials upon the law and punishment of Duels; a great portion of which is in the hand-writing of Henry Howard earl of Northampton, who was at that time in the Commission for performing the duties of earl marshal of England. There is also a letter of considerable length in this Volume from Sir John Finet to Lord Northampton, dated at Paris Feb. 19th. 1609-10 on the practice of Duelling in France; and a Treatise against Duels written by, or in the name of James the First himself, about the year 1610.

The following Letter, however, had a particular object, and seems to have been written in consequence of that memorable and sanguinary conflict which took place in the summer of 1613 near Bergen op Zoom, between Edward Lord Bruce of Kinlos and Sir Edward Sackville: the narrative of which was inserted in Numbers 129 and 133 of the Guardian by Sir Richard Steele, and of which some farther particulars have been recently published from the elegant pen of Lord Stowell in the second part of the Twentieth Volume of the Archæologia.

The Narrative published by Sir Richard Steele, was Sir EDWARD SACKVILLE'S own, and was drawn up to precede his return to England: two or three contemporary copies of it are extant, all signed with Sir Edward

Sackville's name, and dated from Louvaine Sept. 6th. 1613. The lovers of false honor would do well to peruse this Narrative. The English language can scarcely boast another Tale at once so deeply tragical, and so elegantly told.

Sir Francis Cottington's Inquiry of the Spanish Embassador was particularly directed to the quantum of punishment given in Spain to such gentlemen and noblemen as *withdrew themselves into foreign parts* "for the performance of a DUELLA." Sir Edward Sackville's Narrative has been already mentioned as dated on September the 6th; Sir Francis Cottington's Letter is dated Nov. 12th 1613.

MY GOOD LORD

ACCORDING to your Lordship's commaundment I was yesterday with the Spanish Embassador, who having understood myn errant and your Lordships pleasure seemed very desirous to give your Lordship satisfaction, and soe fell into a long discourse of the rigorous Lawes (well) practised in Spaine for restrayning and punishing of Challenges and Combates, much to the same effect as I have alredy delyvered unto your Lordship; only he added that yf in his Masters domynions such jentlemen and noblemen as thes now spoken of, had withdrawn themselves into forraine parts with intention there to have performed a Duella, theyr lands and goods had been immediatly seased, and all thos (as theyr friends, servants, or others,) who had any notice of theyr going, been strictly imprisoned and punished for nott reveling yt, for that theyr lawes doo punish the concealers of a quarrell grown between two Jentlemen (though in a different measure) as well as the parties themselves. As touch-

ing the two poynts wherin your Lordship desires to be satisfied; to the first he says, that whosoever shall in Spaine make a chalenge, eyther by word or writing, and after forme yt in forraine partes, shall at his returne be punished with death though he hurt not his adversary, yea and allthough the challenge be allso made wher the combat ys fought; and he who ys the defendant incurrs the same danger yf he aunswer the challenge.

Touching the quallitie of evyll and reprochfull words, he sayes, yt ys ordinaryly left to the judgement and understanding of the Lords, or the tribunall before whom the complaynt ys made; but if any quarrell be lyke to grow through words or otherwayes, both the parties are immediately imprisoned (but not wher all theyr frends and gallants shall visite them and animate them), and none to speake with them but theyr chargable keepers, and have put in seurties to a great valew nott to offend each other.

Yf any of base qualyty shall use disgracefull wordes unto a Jentleman, he is punished by whipping and sent to the Gallies.

What with the strictness of the Lawes in Spaine and the punctual executing of them, the perpetuall disgrace that quarrelling Jentlemen doe fall into with theyr King, and above all the excommunion of the Pope, amongst the subjects of the King of Spaine a quarrell (or at leaste a combate) ys never heard of.

I wyll hartely pray for your Lordships good success in soe noble and Christian a busyness as his Majestie hath now imposed on you, and for your long life and health for the comfort of us all.

* * * * *

Your Lordships most dutifull Servant

London this Sunday FRA. COTTINGTON.
The 12th. of Novemb. 1613.

LETTER CCLXVIII.

Frederick King of Bohemia to his father-in-law King James the First, after he had been driven from Prague.

[MS. HARL. 6986. *art.* 113. *Orig.*]

*** Two Letters now follow, one of which, at least, will be perused with a deep interest. They are from the King and Queen of Bohemia, or rather both from the QUEEN: for upon comparing the two Letters together, though one appears to be signed by FREDERICK, both are written in the well known hand of ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth of Great Britain, from whose twelfth child the House of Brunswick inherits the Throne of the United Kingdom, was born in Scotland August 19th. 1596. In 1612 Frederick the Fifth, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria and Silesia, Elector, Cup-bearer, and High Steward of the Empire, a man of excellent character and amiable manners, came to England to seek her in marriage. They were married in the Banqueting House at Whitehall Feb. 14th. 1613[a]. On April 10th fol-

[a] The following, according to the Harleian Manuscript 5176, was the CEREMONIAL of the MARRIAGE.

"On St. John's day, the 27th of December 1612, Frederick Count Palatine and Elector was affianced and contracted in the Banquetting House at Whitehall, in the presence of the King sitting in state, in this manner.

"About two yards below the degrees of the Estate was spread a large Turkey carpet, whereon they stood when they were affianced.

lowing they took leave of James and Anne of Denmark at Rochester, and embarking, arrived at Flushing on April the 29th. whence they passed in great magnificence to Heidelberg.

Six years after this, in 1619, Ferdinand King of Bohemia being chosen King of the Romans, the states of Bohemia determined to proceed to the election of a new King. The powerful alliance of Frederick, as it seemed, with England, unfortunately led them to fix their choice upon him. The Elector hesitated. His uncles, Prince Maurice and the Duke de Bouillon, pressed him to accept the crown; James endeavoured to dissuade him from it, considering the present as pernicious; he even protested that he would give him no assistance in the undertaking. Frederick finding upon further consultation that the majority of his Allies were for his accepting the crown, signified his consent to the States: immediately after which he proceeded with his consort to Prague; and He was crowned on the 4th, and She on the 7th. of November 1619[a]. Ferdinand's party now became more powerful than Frederick's. The Bohemians grew disappointed at James's refusal to support them. After an obstinate engagement, Frederic was defeated; and finding it impossible to rally the wreck of his army, retired into Prague, whence he departed the same night with his wife and children for Silesia.

At this point of Frederick's fortunes, the two Letters were written which are now before the Reader. To Elizabeth's own Letter a Translation is subjoined.

SIRE

J'AY donne charge au Baron de representer a V. Mste l'estat de mes affaires. Je la suplie donc tres-humblement de luy donner benigne audience et de

" The Nobility and Prince Charles brought Him in apparelled in a black velvet cloak caped with gold lace.

" Then followed She in a black velvet gown semé of crosslets, or quaterfoiles, silver; and a small white feather on her head; accompanied with ladies.

" After a short space came in the King, and when he was sett under the State, they descended to the Carpet before said, where, after complimental courtesies to each other, Sir Thomas Lake read the formal words in the Book of Common Prayer, in French; viz. ' I Frederick take thee Elizabeth to my wedded wife, to have, &c. from this day forward for better and worse, &c.' which he repeated verbatim, and She likewise, ' I Elizabeth take thee Frederick to my wedded husband, &c.' After which the Archbishop of Canterbury gave the benediction; ' The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, bless these Espousals and thy Servants, &c.'"

[a] The Harleian Manuscript 1583. fol. 210. preserves the original of the Baron de Dona's Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham inclosing a Copy of the Offer of the Crown by the States, dated at Prague $\frac{11}{21}$ August 1619. In the same volume, fol. 219. is a Letter from Frederick to King James the first, dated Wolfenbuttle 31 Jan. 1621 in which he lays before the King his reasons for accepting the Crown.

m'honorer de son bon et fraternel conseil et assistance, ne doubtant que moyenent icelles les Affaires se pourront remettre en heureux estat. Je me promet cela d'autant plus de V. M^ste^ veu l'amitie quelle ma tousjours tesmoigne et aux miens et sa royale Declaration pour la conservation de mes biens hereditaires. Je la remercie treshumblement de ceste tant signalee grace, et tacheray toutte ma vie de la meriter par mes treshumbles service et obeissance comme estant de toutte mes affections

Sire

De V. M^ste^

Tres obeissant fils et serviteur

De Bresla $\frac{13}{23}$ Novembre FRIDERIC.

1620.

Au Roy de la Grand Bretaigne.

LETTER CCLXIX.

Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia to the King her Father, upon her, and her husband's misfortunes.

[MS. LANSD. NUM. 1237. fol. 50. *Orig.*]

SIRE

Je ne veux importuner V. M. d'un trop longue Lettre. Le Baron de Dona ne faudra d'informer V. M.

Translation.

SIRE

I do not wish to importune your Majesty with a very long Letter. The Baron De Dona will not fail to inform your Majesty of the misfortune that has befallen us,

du malheur qui nous est arrivé, et nous a contraint de quitter Prague et venir en ce lieu icy, ou Dieu sait combien nous y demeureronts. Je supplie donc treshumblement V. M. d'avoir soing du Roy et de moy, en nous envoyant du secours, autrement, nous serons du tout ruinez. Il ny a que V. M. apres Dieu de qui nous attendons ayde. Je la remercie treshumblement de la favorable declaration qu'il luy a pleu faire pour la conservation du Palatinat. Je la supplie treshumlement de faire le mesme pour nous icy, et nous envoyer un bon secours pour nous defendre contre nos ennemis; autrement je ne say se que nous deviendrons. Je la supplie donc encore d'avoir pitie de nous et de n'abandoner le Roy a cest heur qu'il en a si grand besoing. Pour mois, je suis resolue de ne le quitter,

Translation.

and which has compelled us to leave Prague, and to come to this place, where God knows how long we shall be able to remain. I, therefore, most humbly entreat your Majesty to protect the King and myself by sending us succour; otherwise we shall be brought to utter ruin. It is your Majesty alone, next to Almighty God, from whom we expect assistance. I most humbly thank Your Majesty for the favorable declaration you have been pleased to make respecting the preservation of the Palatinate. I most humbly entreat you to do the same for us here, and to send us sufficient succour to defend ourselves against our enemies: otherwise I do not know what will become of us. I, therefore, again entreat your Majesty to have compassion on us, and not to abandon the King at this hour, when he is in such great need. As to myself, I am resolved not to leave him: for if he should perish, I will perish also, with him. But whatever may happen, never, never shall I be other than,

Sire,

Your Majesty's

Most humble and most obedient

daughter and Servant

ELIZABETH.

Breslaw

$\frac{2}{12}$ November.

To the King.

car si il perit je periroy aussy avec luy: mais quoy qu'il m'arrive je ne seray jamais jamais autre que

Sire

de V. M.

la treshumble et tres obeissante

Bresla ce $\frac{23}{13}$ de Novembre. fille et servante

ELIZABETH.

Au Roy.

The Lansdowne Manuscript Num. 498. fol. 80. contains a Relation of the King of Bohemia's defeat, and of his subsequent misfortunes, by an Englishman who seems to have been attached to his Army. The second stage of the flight of the royal couple, it appears, was to Brandenburgh.

"Concerning the late lamentable defeature of the King of Bohemia," the writer says "I suppose you have heard enough, perhaps more then truth. The losse of men was little: for on both sides there fell not above twenty two hundred men. In so much as some men did blame the cowardice of our party, which others called treachery. The loss of honour, munition, of treasure, and baggage was great: but the loss of the Kingdom much greater: which, except one place of strength, is said to be revolted to the strong party; though of that so ill entreated, as, if occasion were, they would quickly shew to whom their hearts were subject, even the Romish party itself.

"The King, and Queen great with child, have received the Oath of Allegiance from those of Silesia, and promise of their uttermost assistance, as being firm in their religion: and have retired themselves into the country of Brandenburgh together with the Prince of Anhalt, and there both of them, the Queen especially, do make all comers to be witnesses of their singular moderation, patience, devotion, and confidence in God. And this I would have you to believe, that the world in many ages did hardly ever see such a pair of that rank. And surely this tribulation shall do them good. A report was spread in these parts that the Queen was dead in childbed, a month since, but I spoke with one that came from the presence within these four days, and left her in good health, and dayly expectation of deliverance: which God grant, and I trust we shall hear, well"[a].

In another page the writer says, "there is much speach of the King of Denmarks purpose to shew himself in person, and with an army, for the

[a] The Queen was brought to bed of Prince Maurice, at Custrin, Jan. 6th. 1621.

King of Bohemia; and some hopes they have that England will help to repair that loss of which the world makes it to blame, whiles the Treaty of Peace foreshewed some helps for it, and shadowed the resolution of the enemy. But this perhaps is but a part of that liberty which men take to judge of colours by candle light."

King James now endeavoured to save his son-in-law by faint negociations, but in vain. The conquest of the Palatinate was speedily accomplished, and Frederick, being put to the ban of the Empire, was divested not only of his hereditary dominions but of the dignity of Elector, and of all those honors which he had hitherto enjoyed as an officer of the Empire. In all his negociations for him, to the very end of his reign, James was outwitted. Frederick retired with his family to the States of the Low Countries; and remained during the rest of his life in exile. He died at Mentz of a fever November the 29th. 1632.

Elizabeth, after her husband's death, remained with her family at the Hague, till 1661, when Charles the Second invited her to England. The Letter upon that occasion, which she wrote to the Duke of Ormond, is still extant. The original is preserved in the Harleian Manuscript 7502. *art.* 4. It is as follows:

"Hughe, May $\frac{1}{13}$ 1661.

"MY LORD

"Now I heare that the Coronation is so happilie passed I have no more patience to stay here, but am resolved to goe myself to congratulat that hapie action. I woulde not doe it before, not to give the King too much trouble at once, except he had commanded me to goe; and now, I assure you I shall give verie little trouble, for I bring with me not above six or seven and twentie persons. I goe with a resolution to put myself wholie into his handes and obey him in all things, and trouble him for no bodie. I hope to be gone and imbarked at Helversluce on Tewsday next the $\frac{1}{17}$ of this month. The States furnish me with ships. I shall land at Gravesend. All this I write to you freelie, being confident of your frendship. I must also thank you for your civilitie to Rupert, who is gone towards Vienna this morning. I intreat you to continue your kindness for

"Your most affectionate frend

"ELIZABETH.

"I pray beleeve that nobodie wisheth you more hapiness with this new honour than I doe."

The Queen arrived in London May 17th. 1661. She first took up her residence at the House of the Earl of Craven in Drury Lane, whence on February the 8th. 1662, she removed to Leicester House, where she died five days afterward, on February the 13th.

LETTER CCLXX.

Mr. Joseph Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville; that King James had had a fall from his horse.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

*** Joseph Meade, Mead, or Mede, the writer of this and of many other Letters which follow, was at a later day known to the world as an eminent divine. He was born in 1586 at Berden near Bishop Stortford in Essex, and was related to the family of Sir John Mead of Lofts hall in Essex. In 1602 he was sent to Christ's College in Cambridge, where in 1610 he took the degree of Master of Arts, and was afterwards a fellow of his College. Although a man of learning and absorbed in study, he was much alive to the transactions of his time, both civil and ecclesiastical; and is stated to have set aside a small portion of his income in the constant obtaining of foreign intelligence. For home news, he had friends about the Court: and indeed at that time, as well as long subsequent, there seem to have been persons connected with the ministers, the house of Commons, or the public offices, who acted as Court Intelligencers. These persons usually corresponded with the nobility and greater families who were away from town, and detailed to them the news as far as they could collect it, oftentimes from the very best sources.

Sir Martin Stuteville, Kn^t^. to whom many of M^r^. Meade's Letters were addressed, was his relation, and lived at Dalham in Suffolk.

M^r^. Meade's worth was known to the best and most learned men of his time. In 1627, at the recommendation of archbishop Usher, he was elected Provost of Trinity College Dublin, but refused that preferment, to which he was again elected in 1630, but again declined it. He consented to bear the title of Chaplain to Archbishop Laud, but received no emolument from the office. He died in his College, in the fifty second year of his age, October the 1^st^. 1638[a].

Where asterisks occur in the Letters of M^r^. Meade, the parts omitted are either immaterial in themselves, or relate to foreign affairs.

London Jan. 11. 162½.

THE Parliament having bin full ten dayes in suspense whether to hold or not, was, on Wednesday, cleane dissolved by Proclamation.

[a] See Maty's Review, vol. v. p. 126.

The same day his Ma^tie rõde by Coach to Theobalds to dinner, not intending, as the speech is, to returne till towards Easter. After dinner, ryding on horse-back abroad, his horse stumbled and cast his Majestie into the New-River, where the Ice brake; he fell in so that nothing but his boots were seene. Sir Richard Yong was next, who alighted, went into the water, and lifted him out. There came much water out of his mouth and body. His Ma^tie rid back to Theobalds, went into a warme bed, and, as we heare, is well, which God continue.

* * * * *

LETTER CCLXXI.

Mr. Joseph Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville, upon public News. The popular feeling respecting the Queen of Bohemia, &c.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

SIR 25 January 162$\frac{2}{3}$.

* * * * *

But for newes I dayly heare and could tell some strange things besides what is enclosed, if I could warrant the truth when I had done. I will onely mention a two or three nearer home. viz.

That a gentleman told me the last week that my La. Herries (whose husband is keeper of the Kings Jewels) told him his Ma^tie had newly received three Lettres, and all in one houre, whereof one from the Signoria of Venice, another from Denmark, advising him with much vehemencie to provide himselfe, and to stand upon his guard this Summer, for, without doubt, the huge Spanish preparations would fall principally upon him, if he were found unprovided. Is not this a strange thing either to be, or to be written to be? But his Ma^tie swore an oth that these men wrott all out of malice. I can neither beleeve nor not beleeve, but have mentioned it this week (which I did not last) because the inclosed hath that Denmark hath written to other States to that purpose. We have this three yeare or more bin troubled thus with rumors of the Spaniard, and yet nothing answered report.

The Lieutenant of Middle Temple played a game this Christmas time, whereat his Ma^tie was highly displeased. He made choise of some thirty of the civillest and best fashioned gentlemen of the House to sup with him. And being at supper, took a cup of wine in one hand, and held his sword drawn in the other, and so began a health to the distressed Lady Elizabeth[a], and having drunk, kissed his sword, and laying his hand upon it, took an oath to live and die

[a] The Queen of Bohemia.

in her service; then delivered the cup and sword to the next, and so the health and ceremonie went round.

The Gentlemen of Grayes Inne, to make an end of Christmas on Twelfe night, in the dead time of the night, shott off all the chambers[a] they had borrowed from the Tower, being as many as filled four carts. The King awakened with this noise, start out of his bed, and cryed "Treason, Treason," &c. and that the Cittie was in an uprore, in such sort (as it is told) that the whole Court was raised, and almost in Armes; the Earle of Arundell running to the bed-chamber with his sword drawne as to rescue the Kings person. These are such things as I heard from Londoners: and so I leave them

* * * * *

Yours to command

JOSEPH MEADE.

LETTER CCLXXII.

King James the First, either to the Duke of Buckingham, or Prince Charles: probably to the former.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art.* 3. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

*** This Letter is without date, but seems to have been written soon after the first proposal was made to James, by Gondomar, for a match between Prince Charles and the second daughter of Spain.

"*Dikbie*" mentioned in it, was LORD DIGBY, who was so created Nov. 25th. 1618. On the 15th. of September 1622 he was made Earl of Bristol. The date of this Letter therefore must have been between the two years.

[a] short pieces of ordnance, chiefly used for rejoicings.

My onlie sweete and deare chylde, I praye thee haiste thee hoame to thy deare dade by sunne setting at the furthest, and forgette not to make Dikbie give the Spanishe ambassador assurance that I will leave nothing undone that I may parforme with justice and honour in holding a mylde hande upon the Papists; onlie a waye muste be founde to make thaire complaints come to my eares. But as for miladie Lake, I muste both confesse to have pronounced an unjuste sentence and breake my promeise to miladie Exceter in a matter of justice, if I grawnte her any ease at this tyme; besydes that this cause hath no aspect to Religion, excepte the Romishe Religion be composid of the sevin deadlie sinnes: for I dare sweare she is guiltie of thaime all. If Spaine trouble me with suites of this nature both against my justice and honoure, thaire freindshippe will be more burthensome then usefull unto me, and so Lorde sende me a confortable and happie meeting with thee this night.

JAMES R.

LETTER CCLXXIII.

King James to the Prince and the Marquis of Buckingham, upon their departure for Spain.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art. b. Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

*** The Harleian Manuscript num. 6987 contains a large assemblage of Letters from King James, Prince Charles, and the Duke of Buckingham, to and from Madrid, upon the subject of the intended Marriage with

the Infanta. Some of these have been already printed by Lord Hardwicke in his State Papers; but there are many, of importance, which his Lordship did not use: several of these, interspersed with some Letters of M^r. Joseph Meade, one from Edward Lord Conway, and one from Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, have been selected on the present occasion: they furnish the reader with a few particulars strikingly characteristic not only of the part which the King reluctantly took in this business, but of the secrecy with which the Prince's adventure was at first attempted to be managed, of the feeling of the public on the occasion generally, and of the disgrace which fell ultimately both upon the King, and the Duke of Buckingham on this account.

SWEETT Boyes the Newis of youre going is allreaddie so blowin abroade as I ame forcid for your safetie to poste this bearare[a] after you, quho will give you his best advyce and attendance in youre journey. God blesse you both my sweete babes, and sende You a safe and happie returne.

JAMES R.

LETTER CCLXXIV.

Prince Charles and the Marquis of Buckingham while incognito at Paris, to the King.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art.* 6. *Orig.*]

SIR

SINCE the closing of our last we have beene at Court againe, (and that we might not houd[b] you in paine, we assure you that we have not been knowen,)

[a] The Earl of Carlisle. [b] hold.

where we saw the young Queene, littell Monsieur, and Madame, at the practising of a Maske that is intended by the Queene to be presented to the Kinge, and in it ther danced the Queene and Madame with as manie as made up nineteen faire dancing Ladies, amongst which the Queene is the handsomest, which hath wrought in me a greater desier to see her sister. So in haste, going to bed, we humblie take our leaves and rest

Your Majestie's most humble
Paris the 22 of Feb. and obedient sone and servant.
162$\frac{2}{3}$. CHARLES:
and your humble slave
and doge
STEENIE[a].

LETTER CCLXXV.

Mr. Joseph Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville, upon the news of the Prince having landed at Boulogne.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

London Feb. 28. 162$\frac{2}{3}$

Our Prince's Highnes landed at Bologne on Wednesday was sennight, even the same day he imbarqued at Dover; and on Friday evening came well to Paris,

[a] The Postscript is in the marquis of Buckingham's hand-writing.

though the Lo. Marques being ill at ease came not thither till Saturday, which lost them a day. Then having seene the King and Queene dine, as some say, on Sunday rode thence on his Journey undiscovered[a]. We are commanded as from his Ma^tie neither in our

[a] "They began their motion" says Sir Henry Wotton "in the year 1623, on Tuesday the 18th. of February, from the Marquess his house of late purchase at Newhall in Essex; setting out with disguised beards, and with borrowed names of Thomas and John Smith. And then attended with none but Sir Richard Greham master of the horse to the Marquesse, and of inward trust about him. When they passed the river against Gravesend, for lack of silver they were fain to give the ferryman a piece or two of twenty shillings, which struck the poor fellow into such a melting tenderness that so good gentlemen should be going (for so he suspected) about some quarrel beyond sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the officers of the Town with what had befallen him, who sent presently post for their stay at Rochester, through which they were passed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the hill beyond the City, they were somewhat perplexed by espying the French embassador, with the King's coach and other attending him, which made them baulk the beaten road, and teach post-hackneys to leap hedges. At Canterbury, whither some voice as it should seem was run on before, the mayor of the town came himself to seize on them, as they were taking fresh horses, in a blunt manner, alledging first a warrant to stop them from the Council, next from Sir Lewis Lewkner master of the ceremonies, and lastly from Sir Henry Manwaring then lieutenant of Dover Castle. At all which confused fiction the Marquess had no leisure to laugh, but thought best to dismask his beard, and so told him that he was going covertly with such slight company, to take a secret view (being Admiral) of the forwardness of his Majesties fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow seas: this, with much ado, did somewhat handsomly heal the disguisement. On the way afterwards, the baggage post boy, who had been at Court, got (I know not how) a glimmering who they were; but *his* mouth was easily shut. To Dover, through bad horses, and those pretty impediments, they came not before six at night; where they found Sir Francis Cottington then secretary to the Prince, now baron of Hanworth, and master Endymion Porter, who had been sent before to provide a vessel for their transportation. The foresaid Knight was enjoyned for the nearness of his place on the Princes affairs, and for his long residence in the Court of Spain, where he had gotten singular credit, even with that cautious nation, by the temper of his carriage. Master Porter was taken in, not only as a bed-chamber servant of confidence to his Highness, but likewise as a necessary and useful instrument, for his natural skill in the Spanish tongue. And these five were, at first, the whole Parada of the journey. The next morning, for the night was tempestuous, on the 19th. of the foresaid month, taking ship at Dover about six of the clock, they landed the same day at Boulogne in France, near two hours after noon; reaching Montreuil that night, like men of dispatch; and Paris the second day after, being Friday the one and twentieth. But some three posts before, they had met with two German gentlemen that came newly from England, where they had seen at Newmarket the Prince and the Marquess taking coach together with the King, and retained such a strong impression of them both, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but were out-faced by Sir Richard Greham, who would needs perswade them they were mistaken." Life and Death of the D. of Buckingham, in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ. 12mo Lond. 1651. p. 81.

"At Paris the Prince spent one whole day to give his mind some contentment in viewing of a famous City and Court which was a neighbour to his future estates. But for the better veiling of their visages, his Highness and the Marquess bought

Sermons nor Prayers to prejudicate his Journey, but yet to pray to God "*to preserve him in his Journey, and grant him a safe returne unto us*," yet not in more, nor in any other words.

Yesterday sennight Sir Richard Lumley posted after him. On Saturday, at seven in the morning, the Earl of Carleil the Lo. Montjoy and others went hence for France to excuse the Princes passing through without leave or kissing the Kings hand there. His Highnes left, or sent afterwards to his chamberlaine the Lo. Carey, a List of sixteen persons that should follow in the Fleet: but two of them, viz. the Lord Viscount Andover master of his horse, and Sir Robert Carre of his bed-chamber, are sayd to go hence to day over land. The fleet will hardly be ready yet these six or eight weeks. It seemes the Lords think fitt to send more. There are in nomination two; the Earles of Arundell and of Rutland, one of which is like to go Admirall.

each of them a perriwig, somewhat to overshadow their foreheads. Of the King they got a sight after dinner in a gallery, where he was solacing himself with familiar pleasures: and of the Queen-Mother as she was at her own table: in neither place descried, no not by Monsieur Cadinet, who saw them in both, and had been lately ambassador in England. Towards evening, by a mere chance, they had a full sight of the Queen Infanta, and of the princess Henrietta Maria, with other great ladies, at the practise of a Masquing Dance, which was then in preparation: having overheard two gentlemen who were tending towards that sight, after whom they pressed, and were let in by the Duke de Montbason, the Queen's lord chamberlain, out of humanity to strangers, when divers of the French went by." Life and Death, &c. Ibid. p. 85.

"From the next day, when they departed at three of the clock in the morning from Paris, the 23d. of February, were spent six days to Bayonne the last town of France, having before, at Bourdeaux, bought them five riding coats, all of one colour and fashion."—"At Bayonne, the Count de Gramont, governor of that jealous Key, took an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour, and opened himself to some of his train, that he thought them to be gentlemen of much more worth than their habits bewrayed; yet he let them courteously pass, and, four days after, they arrived at Madrid, being Wednesday the fifth of March." Ibid. pp. 87, 89.

The Proclamation is now published inhibiting all speeches of grievances, but that any upon just cause may freely repaire to the Lords Commissioners at White Hall, where two or more of them shall sitt at least once a week, to receive complaints and relieve the wronged, but severely punish causlesse clamours.

LETTER CCLXXVI.

Mr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville, upon the certainty of the departure of the Prince and Duke for Spain.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

Cambridge 1st March 162⅔

WHEN I wrot my last I was not then fully perswaded of the Prince's going to Spaine, though the report were frequent from London. But within an hour after I beleeved it, but it was too late to open my Lettre againe, being sealed and sent to Jeffery Finches already.

The Newes inclosed, would faine hope that he was gone somewhither else then to Spaine; but they have, that hope so, no ground but desire; the persuasion of most is otherwise. It was something strange that when the Prince desired to go so concealedly, it should be publickly revealed, and talked even by the Court before almost he was out of the land. Sure I am that at London it came to Towne on Tuesday night, and

was generall all Wednesday, the morning of which day he took shipp. It may be, they will say, that by occasion of Sir Rich. Mannering Lieutenant of Dover his stopping them till they shewed the Kings warrant (though the Prince had intimated before who he was) the report of their going was spread: but how could it come from Dover to London so soone, or how could that discover they were for Spaine.

I shall not need tell you how we entertained the Ambassadors of Spaine and Bruxells, how the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Regents, Non-Regents, mett them at Trinity Colledg gate, how most of the Colledg was taken up for them, how they had a speach in every Colledge they came to see, how our Orators fathered the foundation of our University upon the Spanyards out of the old Legend of Cantaber, how happie we were not only to see them here, but should be to have the Spanish blood come hither, &c. How, when they walked privately to Kings chappel, in the middle of prayer time, they presently broke off prayers in the middle to entertaine them. Every body thinks not this handsome. How our Doctors pledged healths to the Infanta and the Archduchesse, and if any left to big a snuffe[a], Columbo would cry "*Supernaculum, Supernaculum.*"[b] How Columbo the Spanish Ambassador; Ferdinando the Bruxells, a Lord, agent for the Archduchesse in ordinary, the King of Spaines pri-

[a] a small quantity of liquor in the bottom of the glass.
[b] See Brand's Popular Antiq. vol. ii. p. 237.

vate Secretary, and Sir Lewis Lewknor, these five, took the Degree of Masters of Art in our Regent-House. How they made sute for one Ogden a preist of their company (and once of S^{t} John's Colledge and borne in this Towne,) for the like favour; and were denyed as a thing not in our power unless he would take the Oth, which he would not, &c. and how the sayd Ogden outfaced us all in our owre dunghill, and threatened us all openly that the King should know of it, and such like. Fame will tell you of these things. I will not trouble you.

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LETTER CCLXXVII.

M^{r} Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville, that he had seen a Spanish Book of the proposed Match: the Countess of Buckingham's treatment of the Duchess of Lenox.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

SIR

I SAW a book this week of the marriage of our Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta Maria, which I took at the first to have bin an Epithalamium. The frontispiece was cutt in a large Quarto with many devices, and at the bottome the Prince and Lady in their robes, and Christ like a parson joyning their hands and marrying them. The dedication was to Don Gondomar, and a whole leaf and a halfe spent

in his Titles. The author wrot himselfe Michael de Val. It conteined Verses, and those, some of them, in Spanish, with many discourses both of the commendacion of Spaine and Spaniards, especially for fidelitie above any nation; the praise of our King; an historicall catalogue of all the marriages betweene us and Spaine heretofore, and their happiness; all objections against the match answered, the enmitie of the nations, the difference of Religion, and such like; the great advantages we on our part may expect thereby, and among others that we shalbe in possibilitie of the Kingdomes of Spain and the Indies, &c if this King should die without issue, because the elder sister publickly renounced hir right to succession when she was married to France, in regard that Spaine could not succeed there by the Salick law. I know not what it meanes[a]. They say it is prohibited to be sold openly, and that the King was offended at it. It was translated into English, but they say the printing was stayed.

All the Jesuites and Priests which were in prison at London and elsewhere were this week sett at libertie. M^r. Jermy on Thursday told me their number was four hundred, and that they went under baile to be forthcoming when they should be called for.

[a] A Copy of this publication by Du Val, with the portrait prefixed, is preserved in the Library of the British Museum; it is intitled "Rosa Hispani-Anglica, seu Malum Punicum Angl' Hispanicum." A Quarto, without date. Bound with it is another Work published upon the same subject, about the same time, intitled "Cynthia Coronata," by Scipio Mirandola. This last tract, at least, was once Ben Jonson's. His proprietorship is thus signified upon the title-page in his own hand, "Sum Ben Jonsonii."

I doubt not but you have heard that the Countesse of Buckingham[a] was banished the Court, and that for professed Poperie. But it was not directly so, nor for that cause, at least not only. For she is not banished, but still stayes there till the Progresse, and then to take occasion to go into the countrie and returne no more. The cheife reason is sayd to be this. When the Emperor's ambassador was departing, the King meaning to bestow some Jewell upon him, caused one to be fetched. A chaine of Queen Anne's of £3000 value was brought him, but refusing to bestowe it, being a woman's chaine and of that value, upon him, and saying wherein had he deserved so much at his hands? another of lesser worth was brought, and pleased him. Then some question being being made what should be done with the chaine: the Prince told his Ma^tie that neither of them both had yet bestowed any thing upon the Duchess of Lennox since she was married. If his Ma^tie would dispose of it that way, himselfe would be the carrier to present it in his Ma^ties name; and so should they have both thanks. The King assented, the Prince carried it, and putt it about her neck; which was taken all for an extraordinarie and unusuall honour done unto her: which so grieved the Countess, that such

[a] Mary, the second wife of Sir George Villiers and mother of the duke of Buckingham, afterwards married to her second husband Sir William Rayner knight, and to her third Sir Thomas Compton knight of the Bath, brother to the earl of Northampton. On July 1st. in the 16th. of James Ist. she was created by patent *Countess of Buckingham*. See Dugd. Baron. tom. ii. p. 423.

an honour should be done to any but herselfe, and that a thing of that value and qualitie should miss her hands; that, next day, she took upon her as in the King's name to send for the chaine againe, pretending some use thereof, and that it should be requited with as good a thing. The messenger who went in the Kings name, and not hers, being sounded by the amazed Duchesse, whether himself had heard that order from the King or not, at last confessed he was sent by the Countesse, who had it from his Majestie. Wherupon the Duchesse bid him tell the Countesse that she would not so much dishonor the Prince who brought it, as to suffer it to be carried back by any hand but his, or hir owne; for if his Ma^tie would have it she would carrie it hir selfe: which the next day she performed, desiring to know wherein she offended his Majestie. The King understanding the busines, swore he was abused; and the Prince told him that he took it for so great an affront on his part, that he would leave the Court if she stayd in it; with no small expression of indignation. My author for this was Sir William Bourser of Uppingham.

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Yours most ready

Christ's Coll. to be commanded

June 8^th. 1622. JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCLXXVIII.

Mr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville: announces the safe passage of the Prince and Marquis.

[HARL. MS. 380. *Orig.*]

London, March 14th 162$\frac{8}{3}$.

THE Prince and my Lord Marquesse came well through the greatest part of France to and from Burdeaux, though not unknowne, and were offered great honour would they have yielded to have bin publickly knowne, as also if they would return back that way.

The Earl of Carleile and Lo. Montjoy when they had excused to the French King the manner of the Prince's passage, rode presently thence towards Spaine. The Lords Andover, Vaughan, and Kensington (Sir Henry Rich) went hence also twelve days ago that way, over land, for Spaine. The beginning of the next week there goe likewise hence about two hundred persons more of nobles, knightes, gentlemen, and others (of which Dr Maw and Mr Wren) towards Portesmouth, there to imbarque in two shippes, one of the King's, another a marchants ship, for St Sebastians, afterwards to ryde over land to Madrill. It's sayd my LL. the Bishops of St Asaph and Exceter also goe, either now or in May, with the Fleet, and have a thousand apiece given them, &c.

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LETTER CCLXXIX.

Mr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville. King James at Cambridge.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

Christ's College March 15. 162⅔

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THE King heard our Comedie on Wednesday, but expressed no remarkable mirth thereat. He laughed once or twice toward the end. At dinner, before the Comedy, their talke in the presence (as I heare) was most of the Prince. One present tells me, that he heard the King say, he hoped he would bring the Lady with him. Dr Richardson brought before the King a paper of Verses in manner of an Epigram which bishop Neale read and others.

On Monday last Dr Maw and Dr Wren had their dispatch at Newmarket for Spaine. They asked the King's advise what they should do if they chanced to meet the Host carried in the streets, as the manner is; who answered that they should avoyd to meet it if they could; if not they must do as they did there, and so they should give no scandall. But, I suppose they expected another answere for a better priviledge, as being his sons Chaplains: but it is an hard case.

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It seems that previous to this, by some untoward chance, a Comedy had been prepared at Trinity College for exhibition before the King, the subject of which would not have been very acceptable to the Ambassadors of the House of Austria, who were intended to be present. In all probability it was changed. M^r. Meade's Letter to Sir Martin Stuteville of February the 22^d. 1623 shall relate the story.

"I will tell you a pretty Cambridge accident as I am informed. On Ash-Wednesday there is a Comedie at Trinity College. Whereupon the Spanish Ambassador and the Ambassador of Bruxells being at Court, His Majestie sent word that they meant to come both to see the Comedy. The name of the Comedy is Ignatius Loyola, and, as I guess, the argument according. Hereupon the Seniors of Trinity have been much puzzled, and have moved the Doctors to write to his Majestie how the case stands, and that either the Ambassadors must not come, or the Comedie must not be acted. This I was told last night."

LETTER CCLXXX.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville; with a Cambridge Epigram.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

Christ Coll. March 22. 162$\frac{2}{3}$

SIR

I SEND our Lettres of last Saturday and with them a Book. But that I guess I am prevented by others, I would have else sent you the Kings Sonnet of Jack and Tom, and other such like tricks. Howsoever I will give you the Epigram whole which our Orator made, and D^r Richardson brought to be read before the King at dinner when he was here.

Dum petit INFANTEM Princeps, Grantamque JACOBUS,
Cujusnam major sit dubitatur Amor?
Vicit more suo noster; nam millibus Infans
Non tot abest, quot nos Regis ab Ingenio.

The King descended more miles to visit us at Cambridge than the Prince is gone to see the Infanta. Ergo the Kings Love is the greater. REX *amore vincit* PRINCIPEM.

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Yours most ready
to be commanded
JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCLXXXI.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville: with an Account of the circumstances attending the Prince's first Arrival at Madrid.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

London March 28. 1623

THE Prince's Highnes the 7th of this present, leaving of purpose Sr Francis Cottington and Mr. Porter half a days journey behind, came with the Lord Marquess and their guide on mules to the Earle of Bristolls house at Madrid at eight in the night, desired to speak presently with his Lordship, as having a message to deliver him from Mr Cottington, who was behind, and had a mischaunce by the way; they having

promised to speak with his Lordship before they went to their lodging. The servant sayd his Lord was retyred into his study, and there busie about his papers; yet upon their importunity went to him, who sent for them up, and they were brought through the Countesses chamber into the Earle's study, where they first made themselves known. A little after his Lordship sent to tell Count Gondomar that the Marq. Buckingham was come, and he presently advertised the King thereof, affirming farther, that doubtlesse the Prince was come with him. The next morning before they were up, the King sent his Favourite to welcome the Marquess, who with the Prince presently arose; but yet before they could be ready to admitt the Favourite, the King himself was come. Great was the joy at meeting; and the King sayd, though it were Lent, it should not be Lent to him, but he should have all that he would and the Country could afford; yea and the better to express his affection, he desired the Prince to tell him wherein he should cheifly pleasure him that first day: who answered, in letting him see his Mistresse, for whose sake he had undertaken so long, wearisome, and dangerous a journey. The King promised; and sent presently for her to meet him in her coach on a plaine. Abrode they go, the Prince with the King in his coach (which made the people wonder what stranger it should be) the Marquess in the Favourites coach. The Lady Mary came to the place

appointed, stood with hir coach abrest the Kings; the King bad her unmask, because he would talk with her; she unmaskes, they talk, the Prince sees her and shee him, but spake not together: then they parted and the King brought the Prince back, by which time the rumour was spread abroad that it was the Prince. The people so flocked and thronged to see him, that the coaches could hardly passe, and so gazed that the Prince was faine to stand up in the coach all the way, to shew himself unto them.

The Lettres be dated the 9th of this present. The Prince (as is sayd) saw the Lady three times in manner as at the first, but still not speaking with her.

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LETTER CCLXXXII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Another Account of the Prince's first Interview with the King of Spain.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

SIR

I CAME yesterday from Loftus, whither I went, to congratulate my Cosen's new dignity and call my young Lady Madam. I met these two gentlemen newly come from Court, who told me that on Tuesday his Majestie had Lettres from Madrid of the Prince's

safe arrival there, and that he presently sent Gondomar to the King of Spaine to tell him that howsoever he ment not yet to discover himselfe publickly[a], yet thought fit to make himself knowne unto him, and therefore desired some opportune place where without further discovery they might have an Interview, and that his sister the Infanta, if he pleased, might be there also. Hereupon the King taking his sister and the Favourite in coach with him went out to take the aire privately, whom the Prince, our Ambassador, and Gondomar in another coach, as was appointed, encountered: where our Prince would have leapt out of the Coach to salute the King of Spaine, but that Gondomar held him, untill the King of Spaine came forth of his coach and talked with him at the coach side a quarter of an hour or more, the Infanta all that time presenting herselfe unto his view. Since this he hath been twise or thrice at Court undiscovered to any save the aforesaid, and hath (as they told me) written to the King, that he is now better resolved than ever. But you cannot choose but hear of this more perfectly perhaps than I can relate.

I'le tell you a jest. The Bishop of London, you know, gave order from his Majesty to the Clergy not to prejudicate the Prince's journey in their Prayers, but only to pray God to return him home in safety

[a] It was said among the Court Intelligences of the day, that the Prince and Marquis arrived at Madrid under the names of *Browne* and *Smith*. In England, as we have seen, they sate out with the names of *Thomas* and *John Smith*.

again unto us, and no more. An honest plain Preacher being loth to transgress the Order given, desired in his Prayer "That God would returne our noble Prince home in safety again to us, *and no more:*" supposing the words *no more* to be a piece of the Prayer injoyned, whereas the Bishops meaning was they should use no more words, but that form only.

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Christ's Coll. March 29.

Yours ever to commande
JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCLXXXIII.

King James to Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham congratulating their safe Arrival at Madrid.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art.* 25. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

My sweete boyes, I hoape before this tyme ye are fullie satisfyed with my diligent caire in wrytting unto you upon all occasions; but I have bettir cause to querrell you, that ye shoulde ever have bene in doubte of my often writting unto you, especiallie as long as ye saw no poste nor creature was comd from me but Michell Androw; and yett by Carlele, in quhose cumpanie he pairted from me, I wrotte my first Lettre

unto you. And I wonder also quhy ye showlde aske me the quæstion if ye showlde sende me any more jointe letres or not; alacc sweete hairtis, it is all my conforte in youre absence, that ye wrytte jointlie unto me, besydes the greate ease it is, both to me and you; and ye neede not doubte but I will be wairie enough in not acquainting my Counsell with any secreate in your Letres. But I hawe bene trowbled with Hammilton, quho being present by chawnce at my ressaving both of youre first and seconde paquette out of Madrid, wold needs peere over my showlder quhen I was reading thaime, ofring ever to helpe me to reade any harde wordis, and, in good faith, he is in this bussienesse, as in all things else, as variable and uncertaine as the Moone. But the newis of youre glorious reception thaire, makes me afrayed that ye will both miskenne your olde Dade hearafter; but in earniste my babie ye muste be as spairing as ye can in youre spending thaire, for youre officers are allreaddie putte to the height of thaire speede with provyding the fyve thowsande powndis by exchainge, and now youre tilting stuffe quhiche thaye knowe not how to provyde will come to three more: and God knowis how my coffers are allreaddie drained. I knowe no remedie, excepte ye procure the speedie payment of that hundreth and fiftie thowsande powndis, quhiche was once promeised to be advaunced, quhiche my sweete Gosseppe, that now is turnd Spaniarde with

his golden keye, will be fittest to laboure in, quho shall have a fine shippe to goe thither with all speede, for bringing him hoame to his deare dade. But I praye you, my babie, take heade of being hurte if ye runne at tilte. As for Steenie, I hoape thow will come bakke before that tyme, for I hoape my babie will be readdie to come awaye before the horses can be thaire wel restid, and all things readdie for running at tilte, quhiche muste be my babies pairting blow if he can have laaser to parforme it thaire. I praye you in the meanetyme keepe your selfis in use of dawncing privatlie, thogh ye showlde quhissell and sing one to another like Jakke and Tom for faulte of bettir musike. As for the maine bussienesse, I hoape the Dispensation will come speedielie and well, if other wayes ye muste putte that King bravelie to it, as I wrotte in my last unto you, for the Archduchessis ambassadoure heere sayes that my sonnis going thaire in this fashon hath obleished that King in honoure to bestowe his sister upon him, quhither the Dispensation come or not; and that thaire are nombers of catholike Romanes and protestants maried in the worlde withowt the Popes dispensation. This the Baron de Boischot saide to my selfe. I sende you according to youre desyre a lettre of thankes to that King, quhiche, my sweete Steenie thou shall deliver unto him in my name with all the best complements thow can, and quhane thow wants, Carlele can best instructe thee in

that airte. And I have sent a Letre for the Conde d'Olivares in the last paquette[a]. And thus God keepe you my sweete Boyes with my fatherlie blessing; and sende you a happie successfull journey, and a joyefull and happie returne in the armes of youre deare Dade. From Theobaldis the first of Apryle.

JAMES R.

LETTER CCLXXXIV.

Mr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville, with the copy of a Letter from Sir Francis Cottington to his Lady.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

London April 4, 1623.

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— There is much fair matter from Spain to write of it, if I had leisure. On Tuesday night last our bells rung merrily, and our streets glistered with bonfires for joy of the Prince's safe coming to the Spanish Court, and his wonderful great and royal entertainment there. The Prince rode from Paris to Madrid (being above seven hundred and fifty miles) in thirteen days, which was nere upon sixty miles one day with

[a] A copy of this Letter to the Count d'Olivarez is preserved in the Harleian Manuscript, num. 1588. fol. 357. It is in French.

another. The last Sunday came Mr. Grime[a] of the Princes bed chamber from Spaine hither in twelve days; who amongst other Letters brought one from Sir Francis Cottington to his Lady, whereof the following is said to be the copy:

The Copy of the Letter.

"We are all well and the bravelyest entertayned that ever men were. The Prince is now lodged in the King's Palace, so that he and his Mistress lye under one roofe. He was brought from a Monastery half a mile out of the Towne hither (being as farre distant as from Whitechappell to Westminster) with the greatest majesty that ever man was, riding thence, and through all the Town (where the houses were all hanged with tapestry) on the Kings right hand, under a canopy, and with the same respect they use to the King of Castile. All coaches were for that time forbidden, and the late proclamation against gorgeous apparel dispensed with, the great ones and courtiers being most richly attired, and their horses most sumptuously caparison'd. When the formost were come to the Palace, the King was but setting forth with the Prince from the Monastery, The Marquis of Buckingham with Count de Olivarez the Spanish favourite following next, and after them the Earl of Bristol with

[a] Sir Richard Greame, or Greham, as Sir Henry Wotton spells his name, who has been already mentioned.

a Spanish grandee, &c. Before this sett forth, came first all the Councellors and kissed his Highness's hand, intimating, they were commanded to do no favour, nor bestow any office without his direction during his abode there. Then came the grandees, nobility and dons, every one kissing his hand, and then came the King himself. The prisons were all opened, the prisoners set at liberty, and the fees paid by the King of above an hundred persons, of which twenty were condemned to death, and six of them for coining false monies. For eight days together they made bonfires and fireworks throughout all the town, and I never saw people so joyed in all my days. There are three Grandees appointed every day to wait continually, in the Prince's privy-chamber: and he is served for carver, cup-bearer, and sewer, with none but marquisses and earls: and all this was done by mature advice of Counsell, who before sat together about it fifteen hours; viz. from noon till three of the next morning. Being come to the Palace, having visited the Queen, and brought to his lodging, first the King gave him a bason and ewer of gold, large, sett with rich stones; next, the Queen sent him a rich night-gown with a cabinet of jewels, gloves, and sweet perfumes; and lastly the Lady Mary his mistress sent him a rich suite of hangings with a jewel or jewels."

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LETTER CCLXXXV.

Mr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville, with News from Spain.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

London, Aprill 25th 1623.

Mr. Killegrew (who about a month ago was sent into Spain) returned hither on Saturday last with assurance of the Prince's welfare; that on our Palm sunday, being their Easter day, he first spake with the Lady Infanta; hoped shortly to be married, if the Dispensation were once come from Rome (which was daily expected), and hoped to be back here in June or July. Hereupon the tilting horses and provisions thereto belonging were, at Tilbury Hope, disembarked; the rest of the Fleet ordered to be made ready with all speed. Two of the Kings ships are on the coast going to fetch the Lord Marquess back; and other two, hyred, carry the twenty four ambling geldings.

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LETTER CCLXXXVI.

Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham to King James; for more Jewels.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art.* 39. *Orig.*]

SIR

I CONFESS that ye have sent mor jewels then (at my departure) I thought to had use of; but, since my cumming, seeing manie jewels worne heere, and that my braverie can consist of nothing else, besydes that sume of them which ye have appointed me to give to the Infanta, in Steenies oppinion and myne, ar nott fitt to be given to her; therfor I have taken this bouldness to intreate your Majesty to send more for my owen wearing, and for giving to my Mistres: in which I thinke Your Majesty shall not doe amiss to take Carlile's advyce. So humblie craving your blessing I rest

Your Majesty's humble and obedient

I your Doge, sayes you have manie jewels neyther fitt for your one, your sones, nor your daughters wering, but verie fitt to bestow of those here who must necessarilie have presents[a]; and this way will be least chargable to your Majesty in my poure opinion.

sone and servant

CHARLES.

Madrill the 22 of Aprill 1623.

[a] The postscript in the Duke of Buckingham's hand. The rest is entirely in the Prince's.

LETTER CCLXXXVII.

The Duke of Buckingham to the King upon the same subject.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art.* 40. *Orig.*]

*** The familiarity with which King James suffered the Duke of Buckingham to address him is remarkably illustrated in the Letter now before the Reader. Queen Anne's Jewels, it is probable, as well as some of Queen Elizabeth's, must have found their way, at this time, to Spain.

DERE DAD, GOSSOPE, AND STEWARD

THOUGH your babie himselfe hath sent word what neede he hath of more jewells, yet will I by this berer, who can make more speede then Carlile, againe acquaint your Majesty therewith, and give my poure and sausie opinion what will be fittest more to send. Hetherto you have bine so spareing that whereas you thought to have sent him sufficiently for his one[a] wareing, to present his Mistris who I ame sure shall shortlie now louse that title, and to lend me, that I to the contrarie have bine forsed to lend him. You neede not aske who made me able to do it. Sir, he hath neyther chaine nor hattband; and I beseech you consider first how rich they are in jewells here, then in what a poure equipage he came in, how he hath no other meanes to appere like a Kings sonne, how they are usefullests at such a time as this when they may doe your selfe, your sone, and the nation honor, and

[a] own.

lastlie how it will neyther caust nor hasard you anie thinge. These resons, I hope, since you have ventured allredie your cheefest jewell your Sonne, will serve to perswade you to lett louse thesse more after him: first your best hattband; the Portingall diamond; the rest of the pendant diamonds, to make up a Necles to give his Mistris; and the best rope of perle; with a rich chaine or tow for himself to waire, or els your Doge must want a coller; which is the redie way to put him into it. There are manie other jewells which are of so mean qualitie as they deserve not that name, but will save much in your purs and serve verie well for Presents. They had never so good and greate an occasion to take the aire out of there boxes as at this time. God knowes when they shall have such another: and they had neede some times to get nerer the Sonne to continue them in there perfection. Here give me leave humbly on my knees to give your Majesty thankes for that rich jewell you sent me in a box by my lord Vahan, and give him leave to kiss your hands from me who tooke the paines to draw it. My reward to him is this, he spent his time well, which is the thinge wee should all most desier, and is the glorie I covett most here in your service, which sweet Jesus grant me, and your blessing.

Your Majesty's most humble

Madrill the 25 of Aprill slave and doge

1623. STEENIE.

SIR

FOURE Asses you I have sent. Tow hees and tow shees. Five Cameles, tow hees, tow shees, with a young one; and one Ellefant, which is worth your seeing. Thees I have impudentlie begged for you. There is a Barbarie hors comes with them, I think from Watt Aston[a]. My Lord Bristow sayeth he will send you more Camells. When wee come oure selves wee will bringe you Horses and Asses anoufe. If I may know whether you desier Mules or not, I will bringe them, or Dere of this Cuntrie eyther. And I will lay waite for all the rare coler[b] burds that can be hard of. But if you doe not send your babie jewels eneugh I'le stope all other presents. Therfore louke to it[c].

LETTER CCLXXXVIII.

Prince Charles to the King, for the Earl of Bristol to remain in Spain.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art.* 42. *Orig.*]

SIR

STEENIE and I doe thinke it necessarie that Bristo should stay heer behynd us, for wee cannot see how the businesses of frendship (as they call it)

[a] Sir Walter Aston. [b] colour.

[c] The Warrant, signed by the King, for forwarding these Jewels to Spain, is still extant in the State Paper Office. Some of them appear to have been the crown jewels.

can be ended, without eather his stay or ours, and we thinke that they cannot choose but a great whyle of treating: for that of the Palatinat onlie will take up, at least two monthes for the perfyting of it: besydes your Majesty knowes ther ar manie other businesses of great consequence which must requyre tyme: and if wee should goe away without leaving somboddie behynd us to end them (and your Majisty knowes ther is noboddie so fitt for this as Bristo) they may justlie thinke that I cam onlie for a Marriage and not for a frendship. Wherfor since his stay will make our happiness of kissing your Majesty's hands to be the sooner, I hope ye will not onlie give him leave, but command him to obey us in this. So humblie craving your Majesty's blessinge I rest

Your Majesty's humble and obedient sone

Madrill the 25 of Aprill 1623. and servant CHARLES.

LETTER CCLXXXIX.

M. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville. Report respecting the Pope's Dispensation.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

SIR

I SEND you our Letters of last Saturday, and with them two Books. The news of the Prince as

you may see by the Letters was suspicious not to be good, and might not then be known, or at least not thought fit to be written. But I will tell you what the Scottishmen told me on Sunday as they had it at Court, and I have heard it seconded since, and is with us commonly talked, though I will not persuade you to believe it further than you shall see cause. But it is thus

That the Copie of the Dispensation (as was promised) is come; but two conditions, beside expectation as should seem, inserted. 1. A general liberty of conscience to all Catholicks in the King's dominions. 2dly One Colledge of Jesuits to be permitted for the education of Catholicke children, &c.

That the King being much disquieted at the inserting of these conditions, should in extremity of passion utter these or such like words "What would they have? Let them but suffer me to have my ends, and they shall have my heart. What would they have more?" Which speeches, at Court, were variously construed. That the Nobility &c. were so much incensed against the Marquess as to threaten but a bloody greeting if he ever returned again.

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They talk that the King siezes upon all the Merchants Letters from Spain, breaks them open, and burns them.

Other reports there are, but without any probability

of truth, and therefore I will not mention them: but desire God to turn all to a happy issue, and send us our Prince home againe.

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Christ's Coll. Yours to command
May. 17th JOSEPH MEADE.

LETTER CCXC.

Mr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville. More news from Spain.

London May 16. 1623.

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On Saturday last came a Post in eight days from Spain hither: but besides our Sovereign I cannot hear of any that understands what he brought. Yet its muttered the Match will be, and that all is closely carried, only between the two Kings and their two Favourites, although perhaps to the discontent of some others.

The Fleet is appointed to weigh anchor to day at Chatham, to fall downe thence, and get about into the Downs, to wait the next fair East wind to carry them away.

Its said there be jewels gone from the Tower to

Spain of £600,000 worth. God send us our chiefest Jewel especially safe and well, every way, back again unto us.

LETTER CCXCI.

Mr Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville. Various News.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

SIR

I HEARD this week by mouth that the great Don is at length come: looked for on Monday was sennight, and many coaches waiting for him at the King's charge, &c. but arrived not at Court till Monday last: had audience the same day at Greenwich. What his business is we must not know: but they say the Prince must stay till Michaelmas, if he comes then; and hereupon is the Fleet which hath layne wind-bound so long, now staid altogether. We are told here also that Cottington and Grisley, about Friday or Saturday, came to Court from Spain with Letters, within two or three hours one of another, though the one came out the day after the other. But what they bring no man knows, not so much as to conjecture.

A Gentleman, one Mr James Eliot (as I remember) a servant of the Prince, and lately returned from Spain with my Lord Carey, about Thursday, being in

our Town, reported that afore his coming away he desired to kiss his Highness hand, and being admitted, desired his Highness might not stay long in that place, saying it was a dangerous place to alter a man and turn him: for himself in a short time had perceived his own weakness, and was almost turned. The Prince asked wherein he was turned, he answered in his Religion. What motive had you (quoth the Prince) or what hast thou seen which should turn thee. Marry (quoth he) when I was in England I turned the whole Bible over to find Purgatory, and because I could not find it there, I believed there was none. But now I have come into Spain I have found it here, and that your Highness is in it: whence that you may be released, we your Highness servants who are going to Paradise will offer unto God our utmost devotions. This Dr Travers told me who was with the gentleman.

Mr Wren writes that we have great cause to thank God for the Princes constancie in Religion, whose liveliness and courage therein they his chaplains do admire: and that as he had ever a worthy conceit of my Lord Marquess, so he finds him likewise.

* * * * *

The Lord Marquess (as is talked) hath had in the Spanish Court some check of late for forgetting himself so farre as to intimate a dislike of the slownes of the dispatch, whereupon Olivares was sent to the Prince to tell him that my Lord Marques must consider better

how great a Prince the King of Spain was, when he came to speak in his presence.

* * * * *

Yours most ready to be commanded

Christs Coll. June 21.

JOSEPH MEADE.

LETTER CCXCII.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham, upon the Articles brought by Mr. Killigrew.

[MS. HARL. 1580. fol. 367. *Orig.*]

MOST GRATIOUS PATRON.

I AM commaunded by his Majestie for the shortening of his labour, to signifie unto your Grace that his Highnes may soe be informed of the great streyght and distress his Majestie was in upon the receipt and consideracon of the Articles brought by Mr. Killigrey, upon three poynts:

1. The perpetuitie of time for the abrogation of all Lawes concerning the Roman Catholiques, in noe time to bee renewed against them, nor any other to bee raised in their place upon any occasion.

2. His Majestie must do his best that the Articles in favour of the Roman Catholiques must bee confirmed by Parliament within three yeares infallibly, and sooner, if the constitution of affairs would permit it.,

3. The Councells oath.

In the first, his Majestie foresawe an infinite liberty, a perpetuall emunity graunted to the Roman Catholiques; which if it should bring them to a daungerous encrease, or incourage them to the acting of insolencies, his conscience opposeth his wisedome of Gouerment, and his Soueraignity runs a daunger.

Touching the Parliament, his Majestie sawe it impossible for him to effect, neither did his affection an reason incline to exercise his power that way if it were in his hand.

And for the Counsells oath, as his actes had not need of theire fortification; soe might his honor and the cause recieve prejudice by their refusall.

But that which pinch't and perplex't most, was, that this was not now a free and entire cause. But his Majesties power was given to the Prince: according to which power, his Highness had concluded theise Articles: soe as now it went upon the honor of his Majestie and the Prince, and perhaps upon the liberty and power of his Highness returne and safety of his person.

These tender considerations of honor, suerty of his estate, fatherly loue, and conscience, his Majestie debated some dayes, with as much wisedome, naturall affection, courage, and piety, as became a greate, wise, religious Kinge, and tender louing Father.

And in conclusion having often honored Secretary Calvert, Cottington, and myself with the hearing of

his wise apprehensions and deliberations, in and about his greate perplexity, his Majesty resolved to call to him some of the most eminent of his Councell (whose names are here inclosed) that hee might open himself to them, recieve advice or confirmacion, or at least take, by those leading voyces, a measure of the iudgments and affections of the rest. Without flattery I speak the truthe before God, those Councellors assembled on Sunday at Wanstid; His Majestie made the most serious, (I may say) the most sadd, fatherly, kinde, kingly, wise, and pious, manly, stout speech that ever I heard, which noe man can repeate or relate (without blemishing) but himself. But this effect it wrought, all the Lords were of opinion that his Highness wordes and Articles must bee made good; that the oath by the Councell must bee taken; and with one voyce gave counsell (as without which nothing could bee well) that the Prince must marry and bringe his Lady away with him this yeare; this old yeare; or ells, the Prince presently to returne without marriage or contract; leaving both those to bee accomplished by the usuall formes. My Maister having honored mee with his commaundements in the trayne and shadow of that, I presume to convey by your Grace, to his Highnes, as humble thankfulnes as my poore heart is capable of, for the signe of his Highnes memory of me and favour to me received by M^r^ Killigrey. And I beseech your Grace to promise to his Highnes for mee that I will,

not onely fill my pocketts with papers to attend his service, but bleeding, emptie my vaynes for it.

It is your free goodnes and favour to mee which open's the way, and hath ledd mee to that condition of favour I have. Preserve your creature, as farr as you iudge my faith and thankfulnes will warrant you, which I dare not discribe; knoweing my thoughts exceede my words, and may outgoe the opinion of others, and fall short of my owne knowledge, a part of which is that I will live and dye

Your Graces
Most humble
servant
EDW. CONWEY

Theobalds 17th of
July 1623.

LETTER CCXCIII.

King James to the Duke of Buckingham, announcing a Present of a Sum of Money to him from the East-India Company.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art.* 74. *Orig.* ALL IN THE KING'S HAND.]

*** From the contents of this Letter it is evident that Buckingham and Prince Charles were absent in Spain at the time it was written, which must have been in July 1623. The douceur mentioned in it must have been given to Buckingham in his private capacity.

Bruce, in his Annals of the East India Company, vol. i. p. 240. has given an Account of the dispute between the Company and the Duke which took place the next year upon the proportion claimed by him as lord high admiral, and by the King, of the prize money taken at Ormus. At last,

says Bruce, they were obliged to compound, by paying £10,000 to the Duke of Buckingham to discharge his claim; and received an Order from Sir Edward Conway, the Secretary of State, to pay, also, £10,000 to the King.

My sweete Steenie thow remembers, that among manie other particulairs quhairof I gave thee an accounte in my last lettre to thee by Grisley, I told thee that Myldmie[a] hadde put me in hoape that the East Indien cumpanie woldè presente thee with twelf hundred poundis sterling; but I fownde hè huntid upon so colde a sent, as thy best Steward was forced to laboure in it himselfe: and now I can assure thee, thaye will presentlie presente thee with two thowsande powndis, and delyver it to thy wyfe as thy neerest friende, and so God blesse thee my sweet Steenie, and send thee a quikke and happie returne, with my sweet babie, in the Armes of thy deare dade and stewarde

Bromanie the last of Julie. JAMES. R.

LETTER CCXCIV.

King James to the Duke of Buckingham: a Letter of kindness.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art.* 77. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

MY STEENIE

Even as I hadde written my jointe Letre to my babie and thee, Apslie cam with his goode newis. I

[a] Mildmay.

have written a Letre to my babie and another to thee, as ye desyred, quhiche ye maye showe and make use of if neede shall requyre it. As for the Recusants by-past fynes, I have allreaddie grawntid it at the embassadours suite, in the name of my babies mistresse: and so thou and I thoght one thoghte. It is trew I did not wryte to thee of thy wifes sikeness; for I hoape in God never to wrytte evill newis unto thee, but now I thanke God she is verrie well. Some feared a consumption, but Mayerne[a] assurid me it was but a vapoure that came from her splene. Comende me to my sweete babie, and the Lorde to blesse you both, and sende you a happier, joiefull, and speedie returne in the armes of

Youre deare dade, gosseppe, and stewarde

JAMES R.

Cranburne the
10th of August.

LETTER CCXCV.

Mr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville. Rejoicings for the Prince's Return.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

SIR

I SHALL not need tell you the Prince is come and at Royston. The newes came to our Vicechancellor

[a] Sir Theodore Mayerne.

Munday forenoone; our Belles rung all that day, and the Towne made bonefires at night. Tuesday, the belles continued ringing. Every College had a speech and one dish more at supper, and bonefires and squibbes in their Courts; the Townsmen still continuing to warme their streets in every corner also with bonefires, least they should not be merry when we were. Wednesday the University assembled; in the forenoone to a gratulatorie Sermon at St Maries; in the afternoone to a publick Oration. The close, at night, was with bonefires, drummes, gunnes, fireworks, till past midnight all the Towne about.

I can tell you no more yet, for we have not received this dayes Letters from London, and the Court will tell us nothing. The Prince hath gott a beard and is chearfull. The Marquess, (some conceive) not so. We heare nothing of the Match at all: but we are sure yet the Infanta is not come. How the King and the new come-home guests greeted at their meeting it is not yet publick, and it seemes it was performed in private. To morrow all our Doctors and many besides of our University go to Court to present our Book of Verses.

* * * * *

Christs Coll. Yours to be commanded
Octob. 11. 1623. JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCXCVI.

Mr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

* * * * *

Christ Coll. Octob. 25. 1623.

THERE is a Book sett forth of the Prince's Returne; wherein the Spanish courtisie is farre better then they talked when they came home with our Prince[a]. But so many jewells given away to one Don or other, as would make a mans heart ake to read the Catalogue. And yet some conceive that some of the Dons well deserved them, or perhaps our Prince had not been at home so soone. Every one beleeves that the Catalogue of Jewells is true: but the rest some humme, and shake head at.

* * * * *

LETTER CCXCVII.

Mr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

I SAW a Lettre this week from Madrid dated Sept. 30th which telles that the great joy and acclamations in Spaine at our Princes first coming, proceeded not

[a] "The joyfull Returne of the most illustrious Prince, Charles Prince of Great Brittaine, from the Court of Spaine: together with a Relation of his magnificent Entertainment in Madrid, and on his way to St. Anderas, by the King of Spaine. Transl. out of the Spanish copie." 4o. Bond. 1623.

only from a delight they took in so rare an adventure of a Prince of his quality, but from a hope they conceived of his coming to offer himselfe to be made a Catholick. But having caused many solemn processions and other such publick ceremonies to win and allure him to a liking, when they saw no alteration at all in him or his, yea and that the English scarce carryed themselves reverently at these sights, nor in their Churches could conceale the derision of their hearts, the case was much altered, and they much troubled. So that whereas at his coming, all things were ready save the coming of the dispensation, which was also looked for; yet they fell againe into new delays, out of new scruples and questions, to the Prince's no small discontent, who was very eager of a contract and dispatch; and very impatient at these new delays: till at length the Junta of Divines coming to agreement, the marriage was declared. After which the Prince had often accesse to the presence of the Infanta, but always in publick, and the King of Spaine present. Neverthelesse because through the death of one Pope, and sickness of another, the Dispensation came not, it was no Contract, neither (saith mine author) did his Highnes seeme to desire it. Onely the King of Spaine at the parting, took an oath to some matrimonial capitulations, at which his Highnes seemed well satisfied.

Christ Coll. Novemb. 8. 1623.

LETTER CCXCVIII.

Edward Lord Herbert to King James the First, upon the public opinion respecting the Prince's Journey to Spain.

[HARL. MS. 1581. fol. 21. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter seems to have been written for the purpose of soothing the chagrin of the King's mind, upon the failure of the Marriage.

MY MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAINE

'Now that, I thanke God for it, his Highenes, accordinge to my continuall prayers, hath made a safe and happy returne unto your sacred Majesties presence, I thinke myselfe bounde by way of complete obedience to those commandements I received from your Sacred Majestie, both by Mr Secretarie Calvert and my brother Henry, to give your Sacred Majestie an account of that sense which the generall sort of people doth intertaine here, concerninge the whole frame and contexte of his Highnes' voyage. It is agreed, on all parts, that his Highnes must have received much contentment in seeinge two great kingdomes, and consequently in injoyinge that satisfaction which Princes but rarely, and not without great perill obtaine. His Highnes discretion, diligence, and princely behavior, everywhere, likewise is much praysed. Lastly, since his Highnes is come backe without any prejudice to his person or dignitie, they say the successe hath sufficiently commended the

Counsaile. This is the most common censure, even of the bigot party as I am informed, which I approve in all but in the last pointe, in the manner of the delivery wherof I finde somethinge to dislike, and therfore tell them that thinges are not to be judged alone by the successe; and that, when they would not looke so highe as Gods providence, without which no place is secure, they might finde, even in reason of state, so much as might sufficiently warrante his Highnes person and libertie to returne.

I will come from the ordinarie voice to the selecter judgement of the Ministers of State and more intelligent people in this Kingdome, who, though they nothinge vary from the above recited opinion, yet, as more profoundly lookinge into the state of this longe treated of Allyance betwixt your Sacred Majestie and Spaine, in the persons of his Highnes and the Infanta, they comprehende their sentence therof, as I am informed, in three propositions: 1. That the Protestation which the Kinge of Spaine made to his Highenes upon his departure, wherby hee promised to chase away and disfavor all those who should oppose this Marriage, doth extende no further then to the sayd Kinges Servants, or at furthest not beyonde the temporall Princes his neighbours, so that, the Pope beinge not included herin, it is thought his Consent must bee yet obtained, and, consequently, that the busines is in little more forwardnes then when it first beganne.

2. That the Pope will never yeeld his consent unless your Sacred Majestie granté some notable priviledges and advantage to the Roman Catholique relligion, in youre Sacred Majesties Kingedomes. 3. That the sayd Kinge of Spaine would never insiste upon obtaininge those priviledges, but that hee more desirés to forme a Party in your Sacred Majesties Kingedomes which he may keep allways obsequious to his will, then to mantaine a frendly correspondence betwixt your Sacred Majestie, and himselfe. I must not, in the last place, omitte to acquaint your Sacred Majestie very particularly with the sense which was expressed by the *bons François*, and body of those of the religion, who were extreme glad to heare the happy newes of his Highenes returne, but most especially those of the religion, who hartily wishe that the same greatnes which the King of Spaine doth so affecte over all the worlde, and still maintaines, even in this countrey, which is to bee Protector of the jesuited and bigot partie, your Sacred Majestie would imbrace, in beeinge Defender of our Faithe. The direct answer to which though I evade, and therfore reply little more then that this counsaile was much fitter when the Union in Germany did subsiste then at this tyme, yet do I thinke myselfe obliged to represente the affection they beare unto your Sacred Majestie.

This is as much as is come to my notice concern-

inge that pointe your Sacred Majestie gave mee in charge, which therfore, I have plainly layd open before your Sacred Majesties eyes, as understandinge well that Princes never receive greater wronge than when the ministers they putte in truste do palliate and disguise those thinges which it concernes them to knowe; for the avoydinge wherof let me take the boldnes to assure your Sacred Majestie that those of this Kings Counsaile here will use all means they can, both to the King of Spaine and to the Pope, in whom they pretend to have very particular interest, not only to interrupte, but, yf it be possible to breake off your Sacred Majesties allyance with Spaine; for which purpose the Count de Tillieres hath stricte commande to give either all punctuall advise, that accordingly they may proceede.

It rests that I most humbly beseech your Sacred Majestie to take my free relation of these particulars in good part, since I am of no faction, nor have any passion or interest, but faithfully to performe that service and dutie which I owe to your Sacred Majestie, for whose perfect health and happiness I pray, with the devotion of

Your Sacred Majesties
most obedient, most loyall, and most
affectionate subject and servant

From Merton Castle E. HERBERT.
this 31st of Oct. 1623. A. M.

The cost of the visit to Spain amounted to a very considerable sum. Mr. West exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, December 20th. 1731. a copy of the Release from Prince Charles to Sir Francis Cottington for £50,027. the expenses of the journey.

LETTER CCXCIX.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, after the Earl of Bristol's return.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art.* 113. *Orig.*]

*** The misunderstanding which took place between the Duke of Buckingham, the Prince, and Lord Bristol, in the business of the Spanish Match, is matter of General History, and known to most readers. "Buckingham, and at his instigation the Prince," says Hume, "declared that they would be reconciled to Bristol, if he would but acknowledge his errors and ill-conduct: but the spirited nobleman, jealous of his honour, refused to buy favour at so high a price."

STEENIE

First I must thanke you for the token you sent me, then that you imployed so good a Secretaire to answer my letter. Now I must crave your pardon to truble you a little: and it is this; Bristo stands upon his justification, and will by no means accept of my councells; the King does hait to have him cum to his tryall, and I am affeard that if you be not with us to helpe to charge him, and to set the King right, he may escape with too slight a sencure[a]; therfor I would have you send to the King to put of[b] Bristoe's tryall untill you might waite on him: but for God's sake

[a] censure. [b] off.

doe I not venter to cum suner then ye may with the saftie of your health; and with that condition, the suner the better. If ye will answer me, truble not your selfe, but doe it by the Secretaire ye used last. Take care of your selfe for my sake, who is and ever shall be

Your treu, loving, constante frend

CHARLES P.

LETTER CCC.

King James the First to Lord Cranfield, Lord Treasurer, concerning the Duke of Buckingham's poverty.

[MS. HARL. 6987. *art.* 1. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

*** Till after the preceding sheets had passed the press, the editor did not discover the real date of the present Letter; but Lionel Lord Cranfield, to whom it is addressed as Lord Treasurer, being appointed to that office Oct. 18th. 1621, and being advanced to the dignity of Earl of Middlesex Sept. 16th. 1622, it is clear that it must have been written between those dates; and that it alludes to the circumstances of the Duke while Marquis of Buckingham, before the Journey into Spain. The Letter is curious as showing the unbounded profusion of James to his favourite.

MILORDE

SHAME stayed me from refreshing youre memorie concerning Bukkinghames business upon Sundaye last, having so ofte and earnistlie delt with you in it before, but now, upon the occasion of his wyfes going to London, his mother putte him in mynde of præparing things for her lying in, quhiche I chaun-

cuig to overheare, I askid earnistlie and conjured him to tell me the trewth of his estait; for ye knowe how loathe he is to doe it; and alas I fynde he muste paye twentie thowsande powndis for his lande at Burghlie; and these provisions for her lying in and meubling are lyke to coste tenne thowsande; besydes three thowsande for his newe House; and all this hemust borrowe. I neede say no more. If he once runne in arreare, he will ever goe bakkwarde. Doe quickelie thairfore quhat ye are to doe for him, and remember that a thing done in tyme is twice done. Comforte me with some present goode newis in this point, for till then I proteste I can have no joye in the going well of my owin bussienesse, and so conclude, either now or never. God blesse youre labours.

JAMES. R.

To our right trustie and right welbeloved counsellor the Lo. Cranfield our High Treasurer of England.

LETTER CCCI.

Lord Kensington to the Duke of Buckingham, detailing the particulars of his Interview with the Queen Mother of France.

[HARL. MS. 1581. fol. 31. *Orig.*]

*** James had entertained an opinion, says Hume, which was peculiar to himself, and which had been adopted by none of his predecessors; that

any alliance below that of a great King, was unworthy of a Prince of Wales: and he never would allow any Princess but a daughter of FRANCE or SPAIN to be mentioned as a match for his son. After the rupture therefore with Spain, nothing remained but an alliance with France, and to that Court King James immediately applied himself. He was afraid lest his son should be altogether disappointed of a bride; and that time might not be unnecessarily lost, in the Summer of 1624, he sent Henry Rich, Lord Kensington, to Paris, to make private inquiry whether a match there were feasible or not; and to advertise him of this, before any public Treaty was entered upon.

This and the Letter which follows it, announce from Lord Kensington himself to the Duke of Buckingham and Prince Charles, the success of his negociation. The ribbon he alludes to in the first of these Letters, was, in consequence bestowed upon his coadjutor the Earl of Carlisle, the regular ambassador to France; and he himself was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Holland.

MY MOST DEARE AND NOBLE LORD

BESIDES that joint Letter to your Lordship from my collegue and my self, I think fitt to add this particular accompt of what passed yesterday at Rüel betwixt Queen Mother and me. Whither going to give her double thanks; as for the libertie she had given me of accesse at all tymes to Madame, to enterteyne her henceforth with a more free and amorous kinde of language from the Prince, so for having so readily condescended to an humble suite of myne in the behalf of my Lo. of Carlile for a favorable letter for him to your Lordship. She was pleased to oblige me further, in telling me she did it meerly for my sake. I redoubled my thanks; and added, that I knew your Lordship would esteeme it one of the greatest happinesses that could befall yow, to have any occasion

offred wherby yow might witnesse how much yow adored her Majesties royall virtues, and how infinitely yow were her servant, ready to receyve lawe from her whensoever by the least syllable of her blessed lips or pen she should please to impose it. And this I did, as on the one side to gratifye my collegue, who would be infinitely sensible of the disgrace he apprehends in the misse of the ribbon, being thus brought upon the stage for it, as also to help to mesuage that your gracious favor which Mons^r. de Fiatt's letter to my Lord represents unto him, by giving yow means withall to oblige this sweet and blessyd Queen, who hath your Lordship in a very high accompt, and would be glad to finde occasions how she may witnesse it.

The mention of my lord of Carlile upon this occasion refreshed her remembrance of the late falling out betwixt the Cardinal and him; and though she were sufficiently informed of the particulars by the Cardinal himself, yet she would needs have a relation from me, who in a merry kinde of fashion obeyed her commaund, and salved every thing the best I could. She would needs know my opinion of the Cardinal, who so magnified to her his wisdome, his courage, his curtesie, his fidelity to her service, his affection to our buisinesse, as pleased her not a little. Nether did my heart and my tongue differ: for I esteeme him such.

This discourse she left to fall upon a better subject, the Prince; concerning whose voyage into Spaine,

the censure of Italie, she sayd, was, that two Kings had therin committed two great errours; the one in adventuring so precious a pledge to so hazardous an enterprize; the other in so badly using so brave a guest. The first Madame, answered I, may be excused from the end, the common good of all Christendome, which then standing upon desperate termes had need of desperate remedy: the second had need of a better advocate than I, to putt any colour of defence upon it. But his Highnes had observed as great a weaknes and follye as that, in that after they had used him so ill, they would suffer him to depart; which was one of the first speeches he uttered after he was entred into his Ship. But "did he say so?" said the Queen. "Yes Madame, I will assure you," quoth I, "from the witnesse of my owne eares." She smiled and replied; "Indeed I heard he was used ill." "So he was," answered I, "but not in his enterteynement, for that was as splendid as that country could afford it; but in their frivolous delayes, and in the unreasonable conditions which they propounded, and pressed, upon the advantage they had of his Princely person. And yet," smilingly added I, "yow heer, Madame, use him farre worse." "And how so," presently demaunded she? "In that yow presse," quoth I, "upon that most worthy and noble Prince, who hath with so much affection to your Majesties service, so much passion to Madame, sought this

alliance, the same, nay more unreasonable conditions then the other; and what they traced out for the breaking of the match, yow follow, pretending to conclude it; very unseasonably in this conjuncture of tyme especially, when the jealousies that such great changes in state are apt to begett, are cunningly fomented by the Spanish Embassador in England; who vaunts it forth that there is not soe great a change in La Vieuvilles particular person, as there is in the general affections; which did but follow before the streame of his greatnes and credit: thus casting in the Kings mynde the seed of doubts, whereunto the Conde d'Olivarez in Spaine has been willing to contribute by this braving speech to our royall master's Embassador, that if the Pope ever granted a dispensation for the match with France, the King of Spaine wold march with an army to Rome and sack it. "Vrayement nous l'en empescherons bien," promptly answered she, "car nous luy taglierons assez de besengne ailleurs. Mais qu'est-ce qui vous presse le plus?" I represented to her the unfitnesse of the seventh article (even qualified by that interpretation that it is) and the impossibility of the last, which requires and prescribes an Oath: desired that the honor of the Prince, with whom she pretended a will to match her daughter, might be deerer to her then to be balanced with that which could adde nothing to their assurance: humbly besought her to employ her credit with the

King her son, her authority to the ministers, for a reformation of these two articles specially, and a friendly and speedy dispatch of all. And if we must come to that extreamity that more could not be altred then allready was, yet at least she would procure the allowance of this protestation by the King our master when he should swear them, that he intended no further to oblige himself by that Oath then might well stand with the surety, peace, tranquillity, and conveniency of his state. This she thought reasonable, and promised to speak with the King and Cardinal about it. "And if yow speake, as you can, replied I, I know it wilbe done;" though when all this is done I knowe not whether the King my master will condescend so farre yea or not. Here I entreated I might weary her Majestie no farther, but take the liberty she had pleased to give me in interteyning Madame with such commandments as the Prince had charged me withall to her. She would needs know what I would say. "Nay then," smilingly quoth I, "your Majestie will impose upon me the like Lawe that they in Spaine did upon his Highnes." "But the case is now different," sayd she, "for there the Prince was in person, heer is but his deputy." "But a deputy," answerd I, "that represents his person." "Mais pour tout cela," dit elle, "qu'est ce que vous direz?" "Rien," dis-je, "qui ne soit digne des oraille d'une si vertueuse Princesse." "Mais qu'est-

ce?" redoubled she. "Why then Madame," quoth I, "yf yow will needs knowe, it shall be much to this effect: that your Majestie having given me the liberty of some freer language than heretofore, I obey the Prince his commaundment in presenting to her his service, not by way of complement any longer, but out of passion and affection, which both her outward and inward beautyes, the vertues of her mynde, so kindled in him, as he was resolved to contribute the uttermost he could to the alliance in question, and would think it the greatest happines in the world, if the successe therof might minister occasion of expressing in a better and more effectuall manner his devotion to her service; with some little other such like amorous language. "Allez, allez. Il n'y a point de danger en tout cela," smilingly answered she, "je me fie en vous; je me fie en vous." Neither did I abuse her trust, for I varyed not much from it in delyvering it to Madame, save that I amplified it to her a little more, who drunk it downe with joy, and with a lowe curtesie acknowledged it to the Prince; adding that she was extreamly obliged to his Highnes, and would think her self happie in the occasion that should be presented, of meriting the place she had in his good graces. After that, I turned my speech to the ould Ladyes that attended, and told them, that sith the Queen was pleased to give me this liberty, it would be henceforth fit for them to speake a sutable language:

lett them knowe that his Highnes had her Picture, which he kept in his Cabinet, and fedd his eyes many tymes with the sight and contemplation of it, sith he could not have the happines to behold her person. All which and other such like speeches, she, standing by, quickly tooke up, without letting any one fall to the grownd. But I feare your Lordship will think I gather together too much to enlarge my Letter thus farre. But it is, that, by these circumstances your Lordship may make a perfecter judgement of the issue of our negociation, which I doubt not but will succeed to his Majesties, his Highnes's, and your Lordship's contentment, and so yield matter of triumph to yow, and infinite joy to me.

Your Lordship's

most humble, most obliged, and

Paris Aug. 31 most obedient servant

1624 st°. n°. [a] KENSINGTON.

I beseech your Lordship excuse me that I present unto yow a strange hand. I meant your Lordship my owne characters: but being hardly yet recovered from the paine of my head, which was my late sickness, I found my self, even before I had finished a Letter which I write unto his Highnes, altogether indisposed and unfitt to beginne another.

[a] stilo novo.

LETTER CCCII.

Lord Kensington to Prince Charles.

[MS. HARL. 1581. fol. 35. *Orig.*]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS

I FINDE here so infinit a value of your person and vertue as what instrument soever (my selfe the very weakest) havinge som comands as they imagin from you, shall reseive exsesse of honers from them; they will not conceive mee nor scarse receive mee but as a publike instrument for the service of an alliance, that above all the thinges in this world they doe so earnestly desire. The Queen Mother hath express'd as farre as shee thinkes is fitte for the honer of her daughter grea faver and good will in it. I take the boldnesse to tell her (the which shee took extreamly well) that if such a proposition should be made, your Highnes could not believe that she had lost her former inclinations and desires in it. Shee sayed your trust of her should finde great respect. There is no preparation I finde towards this businesse but by her, and all persuasions of amitie made light that looke not towards this errand: and Sir if your intentions proceed this waye, as by many reasons of state and wisdom there is cause now rather to presse it than slacken it, you will finde a Lady of as much lovelinesse and sweetnesse to deserve your affection as any creature under heaven can doe: and Sir by all her fashions since my beinge

here, and by what from the Ladyes I hear, it is most visible to me her infinit value and respect unto you. Sir I say not this to betray your beleefe, but from a true observation and knowledge of this to bee so, I tell you this; and must somewhat more in way of admiration of the person of Madame, for the impressions I had of her were but ordinary, but the amasment extraordinary to finde her, as I protest to God I did, the sweetest creature in France. Her growth is very little short of her age, and her wisdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her discourse with her mother and the Ladies about her, with extraordinary discretion and quicknesse. She dances, the which I am a witnesse of, as well as ever I saw any creature. They say she singes most sweetly. I am sure she lookes so. Sir you have thousands of servants here that desire to bee comanded by you, but most particularlye the Duke of Shevereus[a], and Monsieur le Grand who seekes all oportunities to doe you service, and hath credit and power to doe so. Sir if these that are strangers unto you are thus ambitious of your commands, with what infinit passion have I cause to begge them that am your vassal, and have no other glory then to have you as

Your Highnesses
most humble and obedient
creature

KENSINGTON[b].

[a] Duc de Chevereux.

[b] Lord Kensington, afterwards Earl of Holland, the writer of this and the preceding Letter, was the second son of Robert, the first Earl of Warwick of the name of

In my Letter unto my Lord of Buckingham I have writen a more large Discourse, the which I durst not truble your Highnes with. I desire to know how I shall proceed for your service here.

LETTER CCCIII.

The Duke of Buckingham to the Earl of Neadsdale.

[MS. HARL. 7000. *art.* 97. *Orig.*]

MY NOBLE LORD

His Majesty hath commanded me to acquaint your Lordship that he hath prorogued his Parliament untill the sixteenth day of Februarie for manie waigh-

Rich; and was made knight of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales. The title of Lord Kensington was bestowed upon him in 1623, immediately before he went to Spain to join Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham. He was afterwards made a knight of the Garter; in the 5th. of Charles the 1st governor of Windsor Castle; and, in 1639, General of the Horse in the Expedition against the Scots.

Dugdale's Account of the close of his career, written from personal knowledge, is remarkable. Speaking of King Charles, he says, "That the benefits which this Earl enjoyed through the bounty of that King (which I shall not stand here to enumerate) were of no little moment, there are those, yet living, who do very well know. Some being such, as 'tis supposed, that he did doubt might have made him obnoxious to the predominant party in the late Long Parliament: and, that the consideration thereof caused him not only to stand neutral when His Majesty (of blessed memory) had most need of his help, but to dissuade the Earl of Essex his near kinsman, then lord chamberlain of the King's household, from continuing his attendance upon him, when, by reason of those unhappy tumults which endangered the safety of his royal person, he became necessitated first to quit Whitehall, and soon after to retire to a farther distance. Yet, at last, when he visibly discerned that those great pretenders for the preservation of religion and laws had subdued all the King's forces; and that his Majesty, being made a prisoner by them, was put under strict guards in the Isle of Wight; he then cordially put himself in arms, with some other loyal persons, in order to the restoration of his distressed Master: but miscarrying in the design at Kingston upon Thames 7 Julii, An. 1648, was speedily pursued, as also soon after taken, and kept fast locked up in the Tower of London till some time after

tie considerations, but principally this, that the respect of the Princesse of France and the reverence which will be given to her person when shee shall be here for those graces and virtues that shine in her, as likewise for the love and dutie borne to the Prince being all joyned in her, will not only stay the exorbitant or ingentle motions that might otherwise bee made in the House of Parliament, but will facilitate in his Majesties proceeding those passages of favors, grace, and goodnes which his Majesty hath promised for the ease of the Romaine Catholickes, not merelie in contemplation of that incomparable Ladie and his dere brother, but as the gentleman that was sent latlie here from you can bere wittnes, with a desier worthie the cherishing, to make a beginning of a straighter correspondence betweene him you went to, then could be hoped for these manie yeres past. Besides, you may be pleased to lay before him I forbeare to name (wanting a Sifer) the obligation which must fall upon the Prince in a thinge which though it be to them but a circumstance of time, yet to him an essential favor, being pasionatelie in love: and, amongst Princes and generous spiritts, things themselves take not so much

the cruel martyrdom of that good King: and then being adjudged to death by the same High Court of Justice (for so they called it) which had been fleshed in blood by the murder of their lawful sovereign; notwithstanding all the arguments which his friends could use to save him whereof his preventing the Earl of Essex from continuing with the King (without whose countenance they had not been able to raise an army) was not the least, they caused his head to be cut off before the gates of Westminster Hall, upon the ninth of March next ensuing." Dugd. Baron. tom. ii. p. 383.

as the maner they are done with: therefore I conjure You as a worke of more consequence then can at the first view be conceived, to use all possible diligences that where you are, there be used no delays nor interruptions to hinder the speedy dispaching of the Dispensation, which worke I hope will not be hard, since I trust before this time that jentlemans dispatch make you plainelie perseve that his Majesty hath left nothing undone on his part both to facilitate and hasten a happie end to this great busines which will make a good entrie to a greater good in Christendom. Thus leveing you to the protection of the Almightie I end.

Your Lordship's
affectionate kinsman
and humble Servant
G. BUCKINGHAM.

I hope the next news I shall here from you will bee you have done your errant, recovered your health, and on your way homwards.

For the right honorable
The Erle of Neadsdale.

LETTER CCCIV.

M^r Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville; upon the death of James the First.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

Christ Coll.
Aprill 9. 1625

SIR

My last relation of His late Ma^ties sicknes and death though I heare not for the generall contradicted, yet, by some, many of the particulars are for circumstance diminished. I am told for certaine that after Friday at night till the houre of his death, his tongue was swolne so big in his mouth, that either he could not speak at all, or not be understood. He desired, when he first understood that death was neere him, to have received the Communion at the hands of the Bishop of Winchester; but he was so sick when he was sent for, that he could not come[a]. He had three houres private talk with the Prince; all being com-

[a] Fuller says, "*Four daies before his death*, he desired to receive the Sacrament, and being demanded whether he was prepared in point of faith and charity for so great mysteries, he said 'He was;' and gave humble thanks to God for the same. Being desired to declare his Faith, and what he thought of those books he had written in that kind, he repeated the Articles of the Creed one by one, and said, he believed them all as they were received and expounded by that part of the Catholick Church which was established here in England: and said with a kind of sprightliness and vivacity, that, whatever he had written of this Faith in his life, he was now ready to seal with his death. Being questioned in point of charity; he answered presently, that he forgave all men that offended him, and desired to be forgiven by all Christians, whom he in any wise had offended. Then, after absolution read and pronounced, he received the Sacrament." Church Hist. of Britain, Book x. p. 113.

manded from him a two or three romes off, to be out of hearing.

When his body was opened by the Physicians, they found his heart of an extraordinary bignes, all his vitalls sound, as also his head, which was very full of braines; but his blood was wonderfully tainted with melancholy; and the corruption thereof supposed the cause of his death[a].

The Countess of Buckingham, the Tuesday before he died, would needes make triall of some receipt she had approved; but being without the privitie of the Physicians, occasioned so much discontent in Dr. Cragge that he uttered some plaine speaches, for which he was commanded out of the Court, the Duke himselfe (as some say) complaining to the sick King of the word he spake[b].

[a] In the Harleian Manuscript 303, there is a copy of a Letter from a Mr. William Neve to Sir Thomas Hollande, concerning the embalment and bringing to town of the body of King James. The writer says, "The Kings body was about the 29th of March disbowelled, and his heart was found to be great but soft, his liver freshe as a young man's, one of his kidneys very good but the other shrunke soe little as they could hardly find it, wherein there was two stones. His Lites and Gall, blacke; judged to proceed of melancholy. The semyture of his head so stronge as they *could hardly breake it open with a chesill and a sawe;* and soe full of braynes as they could not upon the openinge keepe them from spilling; *a great marke of his infymite judgement.*"

[b] "The Countess of Buckingham," says Fuller, "contracted much suspicion to herself and her son, for applying a plaister to the King's wrists, without the consent of his physicians. And yet it plainly appeared, that Dr. John Remington of Dunmow in Essex, made the same plaister: (one honest, able, and successful in his practice, who had cured many patients by the same:) a piece whereof applied to the King, one eat down into his belly, without the least hurt or disturbance of nature. However, after the applying thereof, the King grew worse. The Physicians refused to administer physick unto him till the plaisters were taken off, which being done accordingly, his fifth, sixth, and seventh fits were easier as Dr. Chambers said. On the Monday after, the plaisters were laid on again without the advice of the physicians, and his Majesty grew worse and worse, so that Mr. Hayes the kings chirurgion was called out of his bed, to take off the plaisters. Mr. Baker, the dukes servant,

King Charles was on Tuesday at the Sermon in the Chappell at White Hall. Having till then bin retyred.

* * * * *

Yours most ready to be commanded

JOSEPH MEADE.

made the King a Julip, which the duke brought to the King with his own hand, of which the King drank twice, but refused the third time. After his death, a bill was brought to the physicians to sign, that the ingredients of the julip and plaisters were safe: but most refused it, because they knew not whether the ingredients mentioned in the Bill were the same in the julip and the plaisters. This is the naked truth delivered by oath from the physicians to a select Committee two years after, when the Parliament voted the Dukes act a transcendant presumption, though most thought it done without any ill intention." Church Hist. of Britain, B. x. ut supr.

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

THE Letters here brought together of the Reign of CHARLES *the* FIRST, though few, are strikingly characteristic of the Period which they embrace; and will convince the most ordinary mind, how justly that king deserved the appellation of CHARLES *the* UNFORTUNATE.

No Letters have been found which bear upon his taste for the cultivation of the Arts: and none have occurred upon the last dreadful extremity to which the Parliament resorted, the murder of the King; unless the *Carte blanche*, the SEAL *and* SIGNATURE to which form *the Frontispiece* of the present VOLUME, may be considered as a Letter. In other respects, the more leading events of the time are chronologically touched upon.

Such of the King's own Letters as are here given, do him honor; not merely by the style in which they are written; in the choice of words, and in the clearness of expression; but as displaying the firmness of his mind under the severest trials, and its benevolence toward those who served him, even when precipitation and mistake had caused not only failure to them, but Ruin to him.

The King's chief hope was in the justice of his cause: which probably would have fared better if he had been without Prince Rupert. To the last he knew that though a powerful faction was arrayed against him, he still really retained the love of the larger portion of his subjects.

LETTER CCCV.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville from London, immediately after the Accession of King Charles.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

* * * * * April 13. 1625.

OUR Soveraigne (whom God preserve) is zealous for God's truth, diligently frequents and attentively hearkens to Prayers and Sermons; will pay all his Father's, Mother's, and Brother's debts, and that by disparking most of his remote parks and chases, which he may well do, this land having more of that kind, then all the rest of Europe beside; will reforme the Court, as of unnecessary charges, so of Recusant Papists; hath ordered under his hand that no Recusant Papist shall have any mourning of what rank soever he be; and (as I heare) hath putt out the High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire for accompanying the Judges going to the Sermon as farre as the Church dore and there leaving them.

* * * * *

An Order for our new Coines with their mottos was sent to the Tower in the beginning of this week, but no such Coin to be stamped or come abroad till the Funerall be past.

Gold { fine { 30s 15s 10s } *Amor Civium Regis præsidium.*

Crown { 20s *Florent concordia regna.*
10s 5s } *Cultores sui Deus protegit.*

Silver { 5s 1s 6d } *Christo auspice regno.*
2d 1d } *Justitia Thronum firmat.*

* * * * *

LETTER CCCVI.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Funeral of King James.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

London, Wednesd. April 27. 1625.

* * * * *

Our late Kings Funerall is now appointed to be May 5th,[a] and the day after is the Duke (some also say the King, but others not till Monday after) to go towards Dover, the Lady being to be there May 11th The Dukes servants are gone towards France

[a] The Funeral of King James the First really took place on May the 7th. 1625. King Charles was present as the chief mourner. Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln and lord keeper, preached the Funeral Sermon; drawing a parallel between King Solomon and King James.

with fifty geldings and nagges, and twelve Coach-horses[a].

* * * * *

[a] Among the Harleian Manuscripts there is a most curious Account of the rich clothes of the Duke of Buckingham, with the number of his servants and the noble personnges in his train as he prepared to go to Paris to bring the Queen over, before King James's death. It is as follows:

"1625.

"My Lord Duke is intended to take his Journey towards Paris on Wednesday the 31st. of March. His Grace hath for his body twenty seven rich suits embroidered and laced with silk and silver plusches, besides one rich white satten uncut velvet suit, set all over both suite and cloak with diamonds, the value whereof is thought to be four score thousand pounds, besides a feather made with great dinamonds, with sword, girdle, hat-band, and spurs with diamonds; which suit his Grace intends to enter into Paris with. The other rich suit is of purple satin embroidered all over with rich orient pearl; the cloak made after the Spanish fashion with all things suitable; the value whereof will be twenty thousand pounds; and this is thought shall be for the wedding day in Paris. His other suits are all rich as invention can frame, or art fashion. His colours for the Entrance are white and watchet, and for the Wedding, crimson and gold.

Twenty Privie Gentlemen,
Seven Grooms of his Chamber,
Thirty chief Yeomen,
Two Master Cooks,
} Three rich Suits apiece.

Of his own Servants for the Household:

Twenty five second cooks:
Fourteen yeomen of the second rank:
Seventeen grooms to them:
Forty five labourers selletters belonging to the Kitchin.
Twelve Pages: three rich suits apiece.
Twenty four footmen: three rich suits, and two rich coats apiece.
Six huntsmen: two rich suits apiece.
Twelve grooms: one suit apiece.
Six riders: one suit apiece.
Besides eight others, to attend the stable business.

Three rich velvet Coaches inside, without with gold lace all over. Eight horses in each Coach, and six coachmen richly suited. Eight score musicians richly suited. Twenty two watermen, suited in sky coloured taffaty all gilded with anchorgs and my lords arms; all these to row in one barge of my lord's. All these servants have every thing suitable, all being [at] his Graces charge

Lords already knowne to go:

Marques Hambleton.	Lord Walden.
Earl Dorset.	Mr. Villars.
Earl Denbigh.	Mr. Edward Howard.
Earl Montgomery.	Lo. Presidents two sons.
Earl Warwick.	Mr. William Legar.
Earl Anglesey.	Mr. Francis Anslove.
Earl Salisbury.	Mr. Edward Gooring.

Mr. Walter Steward.

Besides twenty four Knights of great worth, all which will carry six or seven pages a piece, and as many footmen. The whole train will be six or seven hundred persons at least. When the list is perfect there will appear many more than I have named."

It was said our King and the Madam should be married at Canterbury after the English manner: after which the Parliament, and Coronation of both their Majesties, will instantly follow.

LETTER CCCVII.

Mr Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Marriage of Henrietta Maria by Proxy.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

Christ Coll.
April 30. 1625.

* * * * * *

THE Sollemnization of the Nuptialls of our King and Queen and the Madam of France are supposed to have bin performed on Sunday last, the Duke of Anjou her brother being proxy. She is to be at Bullein upon the 10th of May, where the Duke and other Lords are to fetch her with twenty shippes. Hereupon the Funerall which was formerly appointed to be on that day, is anticipated, and shall be on Thursday the 5th of May, and on the day following our King setts forward toward Dover.

Sir George Goringe hath sent her divers of our Common Prayer Books in French, which some suppose to give hope of her conversion: but others much doubt it, she having a Bishop and twenty eight Priests, resolute Papists, as are all her Servants. Some ap-

prehend that our English Preists and Jesuits will be severely dealt withall upon pretence the Queen hath so many.

* * * * *

Yours most ready to
be commanded
JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCCVIII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Still upon the Marriage.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

London May 6. 1625.

* * * * * *

THE Marriage was solemnised last Sunday between 10 and 11 at night, after some difficulties about it, and much contention about the precedencie of some great ones. Notice thereof came hither on Wednesday, which in the evening caused great ringing and bonfires making.

It is written also confidently from France, that the King and the Protestants are well accorded; and we expect to heare much good effect of it.

LETTER CCCIX.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Expectation of the Queen's Arrival.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

London, May 13. 1625

* * * * *

On Monday went hence the Countess of Denbigh and some other ladies towards Amiens, there to meet the Queene. On Wednesday, betimes, went also the Duke, the Earl of Montgomery, Sir George Goring thitherward; and the same day about noone departed hence the last-come French Ambassador with fourteen Coaches. If the wind serve, the Queene is expected at Dover on Saturday come se'nnight[a]. The Parliament is said to begin on Tuesday next, and on Thursday after[b] his Majesty to take journey towards Canterbury.

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LETTER CCCX.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

Christ Coll.

SIR May 14. 1625

The Parliament holds, but thought not above some twenty dayes and that to settle the House and

[a] May 21st. [b] May 19th.

devise some allowable and parliamentary way (though not in the nature of a subsidie for defect of Coronation) to supply the present necessities of our warlike preparation. The Judges they say sate about it, but what they resolved the King I heare not. Yet some talk of a Parliamentary Contribution, if not in the full nature, yet in the name of a benevolence; which may be agreed upon without a Session or Royall assent as not having the nature of a compulsive statute; &c.

Why the Coronation is deferred so long we know not; but some imagine some mystery in it, besides the present businesses and the danger of infection: for withall, the confirmation of Madam's joynture is also necessarily deferred: yet 'tis supposed she will come sooner then was expected, and that the King goes to meet her on Monday at the furthest.

* * * * *

There died of the Plague this week, forty five; and thirteen Parishes infected.

Yours most ready
to be commanded
JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCCXI.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, on the Marriage of the Queen in France, &c.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

Christ Coll.
May 28. 1625

* * * * *

It is beleeved now that our King is sett forth to meet his Queene, and that he lay the last night at Rochester.

I saw one of the pieces of money flung about at the Marriage. On one side is Cupid, holding in one hand Lillies in the other Roses. The Motto, *Fundit Amor Lilia mixta Rosis.* On the other side, the picture of King and Queene with this, *Carolus Mag. et Henrietta Maria, Rex et Regina Magnæ Britanniæ*[a]. There was no jollitie at the Marriage, nor any of the French save the King and the proxie in gay clothes: but our Ambassadors were very rich and gallant.

There died of the sicknes this weeke in all seventy eight; whereof within the walles fourteen. Parishes infected, seventeen; within the walles, nine.

* * * * *

[a] These were scattered among the populace at Paris. There were two varieties of this Medal. The Editor of the present work is in possession of both. The difference is, that the King is represented upon one in a ruff, upon the other in a collar-band. The Inscription upon the obverse of both is CH. MAG. ET. HEN. MA. BRIT. REX. ET. REG. In the exergue of the reverse is the date, 1625.

LETTER CCCXII.

Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Boswell to . . . . . announcing the Queen's coming to Boulogne.

[MS. HARL. 383. *Orig.*]

SIR

OUR Queen is this night expected at Boulogne, whereof her health serving, there is no question, so that tomorrow or the next day, his Majesty's hope is to receive her at Dover. Her portion money *(quod tibi dictum volo)* is already paying here. The Legate remains solitary and melancholy at Paris, with as much neglect as ever any did in his quality. The Bishop of Montpellier comes Governor of her Majesty's chapel; and Le Pere Berülle (a Frenchman, old, and founder as I think, I am sure principal of Ordinis Oratorii) is her Confessor. Dr. Smith (the doctor of Sorbon) is Bishop of Calcedon, and Generall of our English papists[a]; Dr. Coleton, the old adversary of the Jesuits, dean under him. This is all I can adde (my haste is such) beside my prayers unto God to direct their hearts unto peace, obedience, and truth. Westm. Coll.

3d Jun. 1625 Your assured loving frend

WILLIAM BOSWELL.

[a] Made by the Pope.

LETTER CCCXIII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, inclosing an Account of the Queen's Arrival in London.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

London June 17th 1625

THE last night at five o'Clock, there being a very great shower, the King and Queen in the royal Barge with many other barges of honour, and thousands of boats, passed through London Bridge to Whitehall; infinite numbers, besides these, in wherries, standing in houses, ships, lighters, western barges, and on each side of the shore. Fifty good ships discharging their ordnance, as their Majesties passed along by; as, last of all, the Tower did such a peel, as I believe she never before heard the like. The King and Queen were both in green suits. The barge-windows, notwithstanding the vehement shower, were open: and all the people shouting amain. She put out her hand, and shaked it unto them. She hath already given some good signs of hope, that she may ere long, by Gods blessing become ours in Religion.

She arrived at Dover Sunday[a] about eight in the Evening, lay there in the Castle that night; whither the King rode on Monday morning from Canterbury, came thither after ten of the clock, and she then being

[a] June 12th.

at meat, he stayed in the presence till she had done: which she, advertised of, made short work, rose, went unto him, kneeled down at his feet, took, and kissed his hand. The King took her up in his arms, kissed her, and talking with her, cast down his eyes toward her feet, (she, seeming higher than report was, reaching to his shoulders) which she soon perceiving discovered, and showed him her shoes, saying to this effect, "Sir, I stand upon mine own feet. I have no helps by art. Thus high I am, and am neither higher than lower." She is nimble and quiet, black-eyed, brown-haired, and, in a word, a brave Lady, though perhaps a little touched with the green sickness.

One ship, whereupon stood above an hundred people, not being ballanced, nor well tied to the shore, and they standing all upon one side, was overturned and sunk; all that were upon her tumbling into the Thames; yet was not any one lost that I can hear of, but all saved by the help of boats.

The Bells rung till midnight, and all the streets were full of bonfires; and in this one street were above thirty.

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Extract of another Letter of the same date, London. June 17th, 1625.

It were but lost labour to tell you the Queene arrived on Sunday at Dover; that on Monday at ten

of the Clock the King came from Canterbury thither to visit her, and though she were unready, so soon as she heard he was come, she hasted down a pair of stairs to meet him, and offering to kneel down and to kiss his hand, he rapt her up in his arms and kissed her with many kisses. The first words she said to him were, "Sire je suis venue en ce pais de vostre Mat^e pour estre useé et commandeé de vous." They retired themselves an hour, and then having made herself ready, they went forth into the Presence, where she recommended all her servants by quality and name in order. At dinner being carved pheasant and venison by his Majestie (who had dined before) she eat heartily of both, notwithstanding her Confessor (who all this while stood by her) had forewarned her that it was the Eve of St. John Baptist, and was to be fasted, and that she should take heed how she gave ill example or a scandal at her first arrival.

The same night having supped at Canterbury her Majesty went to bed; and, some space of time after, his Majesty followed her; but being entred his bed-chamber, the first thing he did, he bolted all the doors round about (being seven) with his own hand, letting in but two of the bed-chamber to undress him, which being done, he bolted them out also. The next morning he lay till seven of the Clock, and was pleasant with the Lords that he had beguiled them; and hath ever since been very jocund.

Yesterday I saw them coming up from Gravesend, and never beheld the King to look so merrily. In stature her head reached to his shoulder: but she is young enough to grow taller. Those of our nation that know best her dispositions are very hopefull his Majestie will have power to bring her to his own religion. Being asked, not long since, if she could abide an Huguenot! "why not?" said she, "was not my Father one?"

Yesterday, 'twixt Gravesend and London, she had the beautiful and stately view of part of our Navy that is to go to sea, which gave her a volley of fifteen hundred great shot. So they arrived at Whitehall, where they continue till Monday, when they go to Hampton Court. On Sunday[a] there is a great feast at Whitehall.

Tomorrow His Majesty will be present in the Upper House to begin the Parliament which is thought shall be removed to Oxford. The Term is to be holden but three days at the beginning, and three at the end.

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[a] June 19th.

LETTER CCCXIV.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, concerning the delay at Amiens.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

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— It is generally talked that the let of the Queens coming on after she came to Amiens, was the importunity of the Popes Legate, who came thither to impose upon her I know not what penitential Confession, for sixteen (some say twenty six) days, for consenting to marry our King without the Pope's dispensation, and that finished, to absolve her. Hereof she informed his Majestie by Letter of her own hand, who wrote back that unless she came speedily by such a day, he must and would return to London upon great business: whereupon she presently came away without confession, leaving the Legate at Amiens.

Christ. Coll. June 18th

Yours most ready to be commanded

JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCCXV.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Further particulars, and Inclosures from his friends.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

London June 25 1625.

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Last Sunday the Queene and hers (the King inhi-

biting English ladies to attend her Majestie) were at high Masse (it being then S^t Peter's day) at Denmark House, with Duke Chevreuse and his Duchesse: when the Queene's Lord Chamberlaine was made Knight of the French Order of the Holy Ghost, and was afterwards there feasted.

On Tuesday was the Marriage confirmed, declared to be lawfully and fully consummated, and the Queene proclaimed Queene: after which ceremonies, the King held his wedding dinner, and feasted the French. The next night after, the Duke of Buckingham feasted them.

The Chapel goes on again. She hath twenty nine Priests; fourteen of them Theatines[a], and fifteen Seculars[b]; besides a Bishop, a young man under thirty years old.

Another Inclosure; same date.

On Friday last the Queen was at her first Masse in Whitehall, which was mumbled over to her Majestie at eleven of the clock, what time she came out of her bedchamber in her petticoat, with a veil upon her head, supported by the Count de Tilliers her Lord Chamberlain, and followed by six women. Whilst they were at Masse the King took order, that no English man or woman should come near the

[a] An Order of Friers, or regulars, given wholly to meditation and singing of psalms. For habit they are like Jesuits: but otherwise much differing.

[b] Such as are of no religious order.

place, and the like order shall hereafter be observed in other places.

These Priests have been very importunate to have the Chapel finished at S^{t} James, but they find the King very slow in doing that. His answer one told me was, that if the Queens Closet where they now say masse were not large enough, let them have it in the Great Chamber; and if the great Chamber were not wide enough, they might use the Garden; and if the Garden would not serve their turne, then was the Park the fittest Place. So seeing themselves slighted, they grow weary of England, and wish themselves at home again. Besides, unto the Kings devotion they cannot adde, nor with all their stratagems can bring him in the least love with their fopperies.

On Saturday his Majesty, with the crown on his head, (though as yet not crowned,) made a Speech in the Upper House to the Lords and Commons: but before he would enter into the business he caused a Bishop to say Prayers; before the beginning whereof he made the doors suddenly to be shutt, and so enforced the Popish Lords to be present; some whereof kneeled down, some stood upright, and one did nothing but crosse himself. His Majesty in the beginning and end of his Speech vailed his Crown, and so did never King James.

The House of Commons joining this day with the Lords have obtained from his Majesty, that a General

Fast shall be kept throughout England: 1. To give God thanks for the happy succession of his Majesty after his father. 2. That his divine Majesty should be pleased to cease the plague. 3. and lastly to give good success to the Fleet. About the obtaining of this they sent this Morning forty of the House, to whom His Majesty's answer was, that when he had consulted with the Lords Spirituall and Temporall he would give a speedy and effectual answer.

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SIR

For Newes, there died at London this week in all six hundred and forty; whereof of the Plague two hundred and thirty nine; Parishes thirty two infected. There dyed within the walls but thirty, but in Shorditche, Whitechapell, and two parishes in Southwark a hundred and fifteen of the Plague.

* * * * *

The Kings Speech is in the Town, but I have not yet lighted upon it. The Copy is unperfect and very short, and the relaters tell it as imperfectly. It concernes these two particulars: first Religion, of his sincerity wherein and resolution to persist constant he assured them: secondly, the great Business whereof he said they formerly had made him the Instrument to his Father to set on foot; and therefore being their owne work the dishonour would ly upon them if it were not supplyed and followed.

They say there came some English papists to the Queen's Masse on Sunday, whom she rebuked, and caused to be sent out.

The great Feast at Whitehall was on Tuesday, where is unspeakable bravery; but the Duke of Chevreuse put down ours.

On Friday was se'nnight, at night, the King was much dejected by a Lettre received from Denmark, which having opened, the first words he met withall being *Christianus V. Rex Daniæ et Norvegiæ* &c. made him verily believe his Uncle Christian the IIIIth had been dead! so that he flung away the Lettre and would read no more, but retired himself; till some of the Nobility perusing it perceived his error. For the kingdome being elective, the Kings son being chosen successor in his father's life time, and now ruling in his absence, beares the title of King, &c. and wrote this complementall Lettre to ours.

They talk at London of an Ambassador come from the States to our King, to complaine of the New Prince of Orange, as favouring the Arminians, and feared not to be loyall to their State, and therefore desiring ours to take the Protection of them! But I believe it not. Though I know they will do much to obtain an opinion.

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Yours most ready to be commanded

JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCCXVI.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

WORTHIE SIR

OUR newes on Saturday last you have here enclosed. For what I have heard since, I saw the Bill last night for London, wherein the total sum of burials this Week[a] is nine hundred and forty two, whereof of the Plague three hundred and ninety: which is a strange reckoning; the whole sum being encreased three hundred and two since the former week; and the encrease of the plague to be but just half that sum. Is there some other disease as bad and as spreading as the plague? or is there untrue dealing in the Accompt? Parishes infected, fifty. Within the walls died of the plague fifty seven: but within walls and liberties together a hundred and twenty six. Lord have mercy upon them and us all. I am told, that my Lord Russell being to go to Parliament had his shoemaker to pull on his boots, who fell down dead of the plague in his presence. Whereupon he abstaines from that honourable Assembly, and hath sent the Lords word of this accident.

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[a] The Bills are made up on Thursday.

They talk of divers Bills in the Parliament House; as against the Universities, Pluralities of Benefices, about disposition of Prebends to such as want other Preferment, and mending of Vicarages out of the Impropriations; against Montague and his late Book [a]; &c.

But some say they will grant no subsidies till the King hath given his assent to a farther suppression of all Popish Recusants and disinheriting of them, which his Majesty for the present distastes.

The Friars so frequent the Queen's private Chamber that the King is much offended, and so told them having (as he said) granted them more than sufficient liberty in publick. This Mr Mordant writes to me, and besides, that which follows

"The Queene (sayth he) howsoever very little of stature, yet of a pleasing countenance (if she be pleased) but full of spirit and vigor; and seems of a more then ordinary resolution. With one frown, divers of us being at White Hall to see her, (being at dinner and the roome somewhat overheated with the fire and companie) she drave us all out of the Chamber. I suppose none but a Queene could have cast such a scowl."

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The Duke Chevreuse will shortly go away with the French troop, they standing the King in £240 a day.

[a] "Appello Cæsarem: A just Appeal from two unjust Informers. By Richard Mountagu Bishop of Norwich. 4° Lond. 1625.

There is no good newes out of France between the Protestants and their King.

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Christ Coll. Yours to be commanded
July 2d. JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCCXVII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Correspondence interrupted.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

SIR

Mr. Howlett I hope, delivered our Intelligence on Wednesday both what was written and what I told him upon newer relation. Henceforth you must not look to be supplied as you were wont. The plague is in the Doctor's parish, and the rest of our Intelligence is fled; and it grows very dangerous on both sides to continue an intercourse of Letters; not knowing what hands they passe through before they come to those to whom they are sent. Our Hobson[a] and the rest should have been forbidden this week, but that the message came too late. Howsoever it is his last.

The Bills are this Week for London, all Burials, one thousand two hundred and twenty two: whereof of the Plague five hundred and ninety three, of which

[a] The Cambridge carrier. ED.

within the walls a hundred and nine; walls and liberties together two hundred and twenty one. Parishes infected fifty seven.

'Tis true that the Plague was broken out in the Pantry: the King's baker's son dying thereof on Sunday, and another (a woman) then sick and sent away, died next day. The bread was all given away. Mr Boswell told me yesterday that he was informed that one of the King's scholars of Westminster School was dead thereof, but carried thence sick some two or three days before he died. That my Lord Keeper hereupon had broke up house, using always to dine and sup in the same room the schollars did.

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Yours most ready
to be commanded
JOSEPH MEAD.

Christ Coll.
July 9.

LETTER CCCXVIII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Further News of the Plague.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

SIR

HOPING to be at Dalham on Monday I shall need write the less. Blessed be God, we are yet well at

Cambridge. The Burials at London are, this Week 3583; whereof they bring of the plague 2471: so that there remain 1112 for other diseases; that is, for the Invisible Plague, for so I take near a thousand of that sum to be. You may see by the note I sent you at the commencement how much this Plague, for the time and number, surpasses that of 1603. August is called the month of corruption, which is not yet come. Lord, what will become of the distressed City then! Remember O Lord thy wonted mercies, and take pity upon their Affliction! I send you the Clerks Bill. You shall not need be afraid of it. It hath lain by me these three weeks. I had a sheet of them. This is the last, whereinto I transcribed with mine owne hand the numbers out of the King's Bill at the Bookbinders.

Concerning the former week we are here certainly informed that there died then in Westminster, Stepney, and Lambeth, &c. (places never counted in the Bill) near eight hundred and forty; whereby we may guesse what number is like to have died in the same place this week.

I send you a Corranto, brought me besides expectation, and almost against my will; but it was well aired and smok't before I received it, as our Lettres all used to be; nor was the Plague then in Paule's Church yard, whence it came.

* * * * *

'Tis true that the Masters, Fellows, Heads, and Principals, and Students at Oxford are by Letters of the Council commanded away for the better accommodating the Parliament.

One of the King's Guard died of the Plague at Windsor about last Saturday: whereupon the King, being not far thence, returned no more thither as he was purposed.

Yours most ready to be commanded

Christ Coll. JOSEPH MEAD.

July 30th

LETTER CCCXIX.

King Charles I^st^ to the Duke of Buckingham.

[HARL. MS. 6988. fol. 96. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

*** This Letter has been already printed, though not very correctly, by Lord Hardwicke in his State Papers. It was necessary, however, to reprint it here, as it forms a link in the chain of circumstances which, as will hereafter be seen, ended in the dismissal of Henrietta's train. It brings to view the considerate manner in which the King acted. The dismissal did not take place till the middle of the succeeding Year.

STEENIE

I WRITT to you by Ned Clarke that I thought I would have cause anufe in shorte tyme to put away the Monsers, ether by atemting to steale away my Wyfe, or by making plots with my owen subjects. For the first I cannot say certainlie whether it was intended, but I am sure it is hindered; for the other,

though I have good grounds to belife it, and am still hunting after it, yet seing daylie the malitiusness of the Monsers, by making and fomenting discontentments in my Wyfe, I could tarie no longer from adverticing of You, that I meane to seeke for no other grounds to easier my Monsers, having for this porpose sent you this other letter that you may if you thinke good, advertise the Queene Mother with my intention, for this being an action that may have a show of harshness I thought it was fitt to take this way, that she to whome I have hade manie obligations may not take it unkyndlie, and lykwayes I thinke I have done you no wrong in my letter though in some place of it I may seeme to chyde you. I pray you send mee word with what speed you may, whither ye lyke this cource of not, for I shall put nothing of this in exsecution while I heere frome you: in the meane tyme, I shall thinke of the convenients meanes to doe this business with the best mind, but I am resolute: it must be done and that shortlie. So, longing to see thee, I rest

Your loving, faithfull,

Hampton Courte the 20th of November 1625. constante frend CHARLES R.

LETTER CCCXX.

Mr. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville. Of the Queen's Servants, &c.

[HARL. MS. 389. *Orig.*]

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THE Queens servants perceiving they were like to be discarded if they took not the Oath of Allegiance, have now (as I hear) all taken it, saving her Priests.

It yet holds the 30th of this month for the King and the Queen to go to the Tower; the first of February to ride through London; the second to be crowned; and the 6th the Parliament to begin.

Christ Coll:
Jan. 12th 1626.

LETTER CCCXXI.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville: announcing the King's Coronation.

[MS. HARL. 389. *Orig.*]

THE Coronation of the King was on Thursday (as passengers yesterday from London tell us) but private. The King went to Westminster Church by water. The Queen was not crowned, but stood at a

window in the mean time, looking on; and her ladies frisking and dancing in the room. God grant his Majestie a happy reign.

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Christ Coll.
Feb. 4th 1626.

LETTER CCCXXII.

Mr. (afterwards Sir Symonds) D'Ewes to Sir Martin Stuteville, giving an Account of the Coronation of King Charles the First.

[MS. HARL. 383. *Orig.*]

*** The Reader will not be displeased to have an Account of the Coronation of King Charles the First here laid before him by an eye-witness. Fuller, in his Church History, b. xi. p. 121. gives another Narrative of this Transaction equally curious: preceding it with a remarkable anecdote relating to the Sceptre with a dove. He says,

"The Day of the King's Coronation drawing near, His Majesty sent to survey and peruse the Regalia, or royal Ornaments, which then were to be used. It happened that the left wing of the Dove on the Sceptre was quite broken off, by what casualty God himself knows. The King sent for Mr. Acton, then his goldsmith, commanding him that the very same should be set on again. The Goldsmith replied that it was impossible to be done so fairly but that some mark would remain thereof. To whom the King in some passion returned, 'If you will not do it, another shall.' Hereupon Mr. Acton carried it home, and got another Dove of gold to be artificially set on; whereat, when brought back, his Majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof." Mr. Acton's son, he adds, succeeding his father in that place of goldsmith, "and then present, attested to me the truth hereof."

Fuller says, "The bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper, was now daily de-

ascendant in the King's favor; who so highly distasted him, that he would not have him, as Dean of Westminster, to perform any part of his Coronation; yet so (was it a favor, or a trial?) that it was left to his free choice to prefer any prebendary of the Church to officiate in his place. The bishop met with a dilemma herein. To recommend D^r. Laud bishop of S^t. Davids (and prebendary of Westminster) for that performance, was to grace one of his greatest enemies: to passe him by, and prefer a private prebendary for that purpose before a Bishop, would seem unhandsome and be interpreted a neglect of his own Order. To avoid all exceptions, he presented a list of all the prebendaries of that Church, referring the election to his Majesty himself, who made choice of D^r. Laud, bishop of S^t. Davids, for that attendance."

A Letter to M^r. Mead, dated London Jan. 26^th. 1625-6 gives the reason for the King's distaste of bishop Williams. "My Lord Bishop of Lincoln being sequestered from his Office at the Coronation, as he is Dean of Westminster, and the Bishop of S^t. David's being set up in his room by the great man, his Lordship is going to retire himself at Bugden. The occasion of this, and of the loss of his Lord Keeper's place, was (besides some things that passed at the last sitting in Parliament) a plain piece of counsell his Lordship gave my lord Duke at Salisbury, namely, that being as then General both by sea and land, he should either go in person, or stay the Fleet at home, or else give over his Office of Admiralty to some other."

SIR

WHAT your free act had verified your loving and welcome Letter hath fullie confirmed; by which I assure my selfe further ingaged, then by your most kind acknowledgment anye way discharged; besides your particular most unexpected gift leaves mee indebted as yet in specie for it. I was at this time desirous to let you partake of the actions and passions of this late great Thursday [being the 2^d day of this instant Febuarie[a]] upon which our Imperiall Soveraigne, invested in his marble chaire, ascended to his roiall

[a] This interlineation, with the Date at the end, appears to have been added by Sir Symonds D'Ewes many years after, when the Letter came again into his hands.

Throne. Having the happines to bee a spectator, take this short view of it.

About eight of the clocke his Majestie was expected to have landed at Sir Robert Cottons staires, my Lord Marshall having himselfe given order for carpets to bee laied. Sir Robert stood readie ther to receave him with a booke of Athelstans, being the fower Evangelists in Latin, that King's Saxon Epistle præfixed[a], upon which for divers hundred yeares together the Kings of England had solemnlie taken ther Coronation Oath. But the roiall barge bawked those stepps soe fitlie accommodated, and being put forward was run on ground at the Parliament staires; by which both his Majestie and the Lordes were faine to use the neighbour boates for their landing. S^r^ Robert tolde mee, and I beleeve it, that this act might have brought a custome of setling there, and soe was gladd it missed; but I conceived the Duke had prevented that Act of Grace to be done him, by reason of that piece I shewed you which began 'Soe long as those attended our Master now with God &c. framed by him'; you may remember how I tolde you that I doubted him the author by reason of the style and gravitie in it. Yet I thinke a little after, the booke was delivered. His Majestie and the Peeres being roabed, hee first came into Westminster Hall; a high stage and throne being ther erected for that end. I saw the Duke, Lord Constable for this day

[a] It is now, MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. II.

taking the right hand of him going up the staires, and putting forth his left to beare up the King; hee putting it by with his right hand helped up the Duke, and with a smiling countenance tolde him, 'I have as much neede to helpe you, as you to assist mee.' I dare say he meant it plainlie, yet searching braines might picke much from it. Upon a table placed on the left hande of the estate, were the regalia laied: which the Duke vpon his knee bringing to the King, hee delivered them to severall noblemen. The first sword to Marquesse Hambledon, the second to the Earle of Kent, the Crowne to the Earl of Pembroke, the ball with the crosse to the Earl of Sussex, the long sceptre to the Earle of Essex, St Edwardes Rodd with the Dove to the Earle of Hartforde, &c. onlie the Lord Mayor carried the shorte scepter. These were things *ad placitum*, and noe claimes allowed for this time. Then proceeded his Majestie bare, (for after the deliverie of his Crowne, having laied off his hatt hee continued soe till crowned) on foote vnder a Canopie to the Church. First went the Bath knights, then the Kings Serjeants, then Masters of Requests, then Judges, then Peeres, then Carriers of the Regalia, and lastlie his Majestie. I was thinking to see his passage and soe to go home, having in the morning, without couler of successe, endeavoured to gett into the Church. In my passage, spying a doore guarded by one and thronged at by few, I went, and with little

trouble found an easie entrance; the good genius of that guard-man guiding his gentler thoughts. Being in, I instantlie setled myselfe at the Stage on which stoode the roiall seate. My expectation was soon answered with his Majestie's approach: whoe presenting himselfe bare-headed to the people (all the doores being then opened for ther entrance), the Archbishopp on his right hand and Earle Marshall on his left, the Byshopp saied in my articulate hearing to this purpose; "My masters and freinds I am heere come to present vnto you your King, King Charles, to whome the crowne of his auncestors and predecessors is now devolved by lineall right, and hee himselfe come hither to bee settled in that Throne which God and his birth have appointed for him: and therfore I desire you by your generall acclamation to testifye your consent and willingnes therunto." Upon which, whether some expected hee should have spoken more, others hearing not well what hee saied hindred those by questioning which might have heard, or that the newnes and greatnes of the action busied mens' thoughts, or the presence of soe deare a King drew admiring silence, or that those which were nearest doubted what to doe; but not one worde followed, till my Lorde of Arundel tolde them, They should crie out 'God save King Charles.' Upon which, as ashamed of ther first oversight, a little shouting followed. At the other sides wheere hee presented himselfe ther was not the like

failing. Then going from this erected stage downe into S^{t} Edwards Chappel, D^{r} Senhowse Bishopp of Carlile preached, of which expect the imprinting and my silence: before which the organs and quire answered to two Bishopps whoe upon ther knees sung the Letanie. Then followed his Majesties Coronation, wheere because the putting on of his crimson shirte, the anointing of his naked shoulders, armes, hands, and head were arcana, a traverse was drawen, and I dare say boldlie, few moore single persons then ther were thousands within the Church saw it. Yet might we guesse when the anointed gloves, and quoife, and robes, and Crowne were brought, then those were to bee put on. The Archbishop performed the unction, which I doubted hee should not, by reason of suspicion of irregularitie upon the unfortunate killing of a man some few yeares since. Then receaved his Majestie the Communion; and after, crowned, in his purple robes ascending the stage and Throne, tooke homage of all the Peeres; they putting ther handes into his and being kissed by him, did him both homage and fealtie. Before this, the Lorde Keeper declared his Majestie's free pardon to all would take it out, which was followed by an exceeding acclamation. Then returned hee into an inner chappell and ther put on black velvett roabes lined with ermine and soe, crowned, went backe to Westminster Hall in the same maner hee had come thether; wheere everie Lorde

delivered backe againe his regalia. The Crowne hee wore was narrower and higher then that my Lorde of Pembroke carried; yet both incomparablie rich. After the Kings crowning, all the Earles and Viscounts putt on ther coronets and capps, the bishopps ther capps, the Barons continued bare. The Lorde Conway tooke place of all barons, being a baron and principall Secretarie; else hee goeth below them. The Queene was neither crowned nor at the Church, yet saw ther going. Other newes ther is much, which my little time suffring mee not to write, I reste

Your ever devoted freind

Middle Temple SYMONDS D'EWES.
Febr. 4. 162$\frac{5}{6}$.

LETTER CCCXXIII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, with some further particulars of the Coronation.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

Christ College
Febr. 11. 162$\frac{5}{6}$.

THE most of my last weeks news was of the Coronation: but M^{r}. D'Ewes giving you so largely, I shall need only mention what he omitted. viz. as followeth:

London Feb. 3d.

"The Queen would not by any means be present in the Church to see the Solemnities and Ceremonies, tho' she was offered to have a place made fit for her; but took a Chamber at the Palace gate, where she might behold them, going and returning. It was one of the most punctual Coronations since the Conquest. One Prayer, therein, was used, which hath been omitted since Henry the VIIth's time. Edward IIId. had it, and some other both Norman and Saxon Kings. It understands the King not to be merely laic, but a mixed person. The words, or some of the words, are these; 'Obtineat gratiam huic populo sicut Aaron in tabernaculo, Elizæus in fluvio, Zacharias in templo. Sit Petrus in clave, Paulus in dogmate. &c.'

"Of the Knights of the Bath, the first was the Earl of Denbigh's son a Viscount; next the Lord Strange; and two of them were children, the Lord Buckhurst the Earl of Dorset's son, of four or five years old, and my Lord of Walden's eldest son of some two years, brought in his Lady Mother's arms."

LETTER CCCXXIV.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The opening of the Parliament.

[HARL. MS. 390. *Orig.*]

Christ Coll.
Feb. 18. 162$\frac{5}{6}$.

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On Munday the first day of Parliament halfe the Commons were not come. The King sayd to them he was no Orator but desired to be known by his actions, not by his words. The next day, Tuesday, Sir Heneage Finch the Speaker was sworne. Dr. Bargrave preached before the House. The first Bill put up was for the enquiring after all moneys which the devotion of men through the whole kingdom hath bestowed for the repairing of Churches, Highways, Bridges, &c. Thus they say Pauls Church for her repairs may challenge £60,000 out of the Chamber of London. I heare of a Speech also made that week somewhat eagerly, aiming at, but not naming the Duke of Buckingham: but it was not applauded, nor seemingly liked by the House. Some thought because unseasonable.

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LETTER CCCXXV.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Further Account of the Proceedings in Parliament. A Disagreement between their Majesties.

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For Newes I can heare no more foreign than the last Corranto afforded you.

Nor can I hear any thing almost what they do in Parliament of late. In the beginning I am informed that Sir John Eliot, vice-admiral for Devonshire, propounded the raising of an estate for the King's wars that he might neither borrow upon credit nor upon Jewels: but withall desired there might an Account be given for all the moneys given in Parliament since the 12th of King James, with some invectives against the Commissioners, whom he called the pretending Sparers of the King's purse; laying to their charge the loss of thousands of mens lives in our late Expeditions by land and sea. That Sir Benjamin Rudyer spake next for the relief of the poor and meanly provided clergie under Impropriators, urging two examples of Divines who were faine to keep Ale-houses for mere want of means. And there was hope of some good success, if the Lawyers stomack it not too much, who desire that every Minister convicted before a

Justice by twelve men to have been once drunk should lose his Living. That for Adultery and Fornication they should suffer death: and for tempting of a woman be deprived. But the Clergie hath been defended by Sir Dudley Digges and many others, who would have these Laws universal; and as great a punishment to be inflicted upon the laitie, least they might seem partial; and so they may be admitted.

There hath been some Disagreement at Court between their Majesties, by reason of the French Ambassador; but after three days silence the King spake graciously to the Queen, but forbade the Ambassador the Court, who thereupon (Feb. 10th) removed to Greenwich: whereupon the King sent presently to all the Ports to stop all passage outward, and a messenger with Letters into France. The Monday following (Feb. 15th) the Ambassador was remanded to his lodging at Duresme House, but of his £60 daily allowance he had £10 abated, because his Majesty saw it was not all well spent, the Ambassadors servants basely selling some thereof.

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Christ Coll.

Feb. 25.

LETTER CCCXXVI.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Lord Digby's Charges against the Duke of Buckingham.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

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THE News I received last Saturday I send you, in which you will perceive my Lord Digby's pertinacious importunity to come to Parliament and hazard a trial, notwithstanding his Majesty's both offers of favor, and threats (if he persisted) to be his Accuser. I hear since, but imperfectly, that on Tuesday he came to the House, declared for himself confidently, and accused the Duke of divers notorious crimes, and near all High Treason. Whiles he was in his declaration, the King's attorney comes in and recriminates a grievous accusation of High Treason against him. I hear say, one of my Lord Digby's charges against the Duke is, that he had a Bull from the Pope to carry the Prince into Spain of purpose to give advantage for the perverting him in his Religion. My Lord Duke came to the House in an old Coach, some three footmen, no attendance, &c. My Lord Digby with eight horses, his own horse brave and rich with cloth of gold or tissue, &c. The reason is not yet apprehended. His Majesty was expected to be in the Parliament on Thursday. I hearde also that My Lord

Digby was on Monday to be arraigned at the King's Bench bar, but I understand it not. His Majesty is yet said to remit nothing of his affection and adherence to the Duke; so that some imagine, whatsoever be proved, the Duke will stand invincible, and my Lord Digby notwithstanding all his warrants from the former King to do as he did, will have his life in great hazard. I will write no more of this, till I have more perfect intelligence which will not be till I have sealed. This which I write I hear by such as came out of London on Thursday.

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Christ Coll.
May 6. 1626.

LETTER CCCXXVII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The same subject continued.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

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My Lord Digby acquits himself well hitherto; but the Duke is said to jeere openly in Parliament all accusations brought against him with too much appearance of insolency. I hear that the Commons having

chosen a Committee of Eight (each having two assistants) to deliver some fourteen Articles against him unto the Lords, Mr. Glanville and another appointed to speak. Mr. Glanville compared the Parliament unto the Universe, the Upper House to the Stars, the Commons to the lower World, the King to the Sun: that the Stars received Light from the Sun, the House of Commons from them; but alas the firmament was become dim, and the stars sent but little light by reason of a great blazing Comet, which kept the light of the Sun from them. His exordium being done, and he now in the business, the Duke so jeered and fleered him, that he was faine after some patience to convert his speech to the Duke, with these or the like words, 'My Lord, do you jeer me! are these things to be jeered at? My Lord I can shew you when a man of a greater blood than your Lordship, as high in place and power, and as deep in the favour of the King as you, hath been hanged for as small a crime as the least of these Articles contain.'

On Tuesday were four sharp Speeches made against the Duke in the House of Commons, the first by Sir Dudley Digges, the last by Sr. John Eliot, both which, on Thursday morning, being called out of the House as if the King had sent for them, were carried to the Tower by water, and given out to be for High Treason. As soon as the news hereof came into the House they cried presently 'Rise, Rise, Rise:' which

Mr Pym not well understanding stood up, and began to insinuate an exhortation to patience and wisdom. Whereunto one Walters replied that he seemed to mistake the voice of the House, which as he understood, had no other meaning but that it was time to rise and go to dinner. Howsoever the House was so much discontented that it was thought it would not sit yesterday.

The King went to the House on Thursday, but what he did we hear not yet. The Lords had petitioned the King that the Duke might be restrained till these matters were examined; nevertheless he attended his Majesty to the House, but it was said he would that afternoon go to New Hall. His Majesty's affection no whit abates toward him, but seems rather to increase. Lord help us, what will come of these things? the distraction is great and of great consequence, and unless God show the way out we are but in ill case. *Domine miserere!*

The Duke being in the bedchamber, private with the King, his Majesty was overheard (as they talk) to use these words. 'What can I do more? I have engaged mine honour to mine uncle of Denmark and other Princes. I have in manner lost the love of my Subjects. And what wouldst thou have me do?' Whence some think the Duke moved the King to dissolve the Parliament, &c.

Mansfeild is overthrown by Count Walstein, nor

can gather his men together again for want of money, which he hath in vain expected from us. Walstein is thirty thousand strong and proceeds. All will be lost; and they say by our fault.

This of Mansfeild I saw now in a letter; and that the King takes all the Duke is charged with upon himself, and told the Commons he would make them know he was their King, and so departed, the Duke being with him. It is generally thought, saith the Letter, that the last Parliament of King Charles his reign will end within this Week. Is it not time to pray?

Christ Coll.
May 13th

LETTER CCCXXVIII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville; with an Account of the Election of the Duke of Buckingham to be Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

WORTHIE SIR

THAT you might not altogether want news this Week through your abundance the last, *We* have bred some; that the Age being so fruitful of wonders we Academians might not be wanting to produce

something for the world to wonder at. To tell you plainly we have chosen the Duke of Buckingham our Chancellor and that with more than ordinary triumph. I will tell as much as my time will let me.

Our Chancellor my Lord of Suffolk died on Sunday about two a Clock in the morning: which no sooner came to our ears on Monday, but about dinner time arrives Dr Wilson (my Lord of Londons chaplain) without Letters, but with a message from his Lord that we should chuse the Duke; such being his Majesty's desire and pleasure. Our Heads meet after Sermon, when by Dr Wren, Beale, Maw, Pask, this motion was urged with that vehemency and as it were confidence of authority, that the rest were either awed or perswaded; and those that would not yet durst not adventure to make further opposition, though they inclined, (if it be lawful to say so) to more advised counsel. It was in vain to say that Dr Wilson's bare word from his Lord was no sufficient testimony of his Majesty's pleasure; nor such as might be a ground of an act of such consequence, that we should by this Act prejudge the Parliament: that instead of Patronage we sought for, we might bring a lasting scandal and draw a general contempt and hatred upon the University as men of most prostitute flattery: that it would not be safe for us to engage ourselves in publick differences: that at least to avoid the imputation of folly and temerity in the doing, it would

be wisdom to wait our full time of fourteen days, and not to precipitate the Election. To this was answered, 'The sooner the better, and more acceptable.' If we stayed to expect the event in Parliament, it would not be worth 'God-ha-mercy!'

Upon the news of this Consultation and Resolution of the Heads, we of the Body murmur, we run one to another to complain. We say the Heads in this Election have no more to do than any of us; wherefore we advise what to do and who to set up. Some are for my Lord Keeper, others for my Lord Andover (Berkshire); but least we might be found over weak, being distracted, we agree that he that shall find most voices of these or any other set up, the rest should all come to him. Hereupon on Tuesday morning (notwithstanding every Head sent for his Fellows to perswade them for the Duke) some durst be so bold as to visitt for the contrary in publick. Others more privily inquired how their friends and others were affected. But the same day about dinner time the Bishop of London arrived unexpected, yet found his own Colledge (Queen's) most bent and resolved another way to his no small discontentment. At the same time comes to town Mr Mason (my Lord Duke's Secretary) and Mr Cosens, and Letters from my Lord of Durham expressly signifying in his Majesty's name (as they told and would make us believe) that his Majesty would be well pleased if we chose the Duke.

My Lord Bishop labours, Mr Mason visits for his Lord, Mr Cosens for the most true Patron of the Clergy and of Scholars. Masters belabour their Fellows. Dr Maw sends for his, one by one, to perswade them, some twise over. On Thursday morning (the Day appointed for the Election) he makes a large speech in the Colledge Chapel that they would come off unanimously; when the School Bell rung he caused the Colledge Bell also to ring as to an Act, and all the Fellows to come into the Hall and to attend him to the Schools for the Duke, that so they might win the honour to have it accounted their Colledge act. Divers in Town got hacknies, and fled to avoid importunity. Very many, some whole Colledges were gotten by their fearful Masters, the Bishop, and others, to suspend, who otherwise were resolved against the Duke, and kept away with much indignation: and yet for all this stirre the Duke carried it but by three Votes from My Lord Andover whom we voluntarily set up against him, without any motion on his behalf, yea without his knowledge. You will not believe how they triumphed (I mean the Masters above-named) when they had got it. Dr Pask made his Colledge exceed that night, &c. Some since had a good mind to have questioned the Election for some reason: but I think they will be better advised for their owne ease. We had but one Doctor in the whole Towne durst (for so I dare speak) give with us against the Duke,

and that was Dr. Porter of Queen's. What will the Parliament say to us? Did not our Burgesses condemn the Duke in their charge given up to the Lords? I pray God we hear well of it: but the actors are as bold as lions, and I half believe would faine suffer that they might be advanced.

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Thus, with my best respect, I rest and am

Yours most ready to be commanded

Christ Coll. JOSEPH MEAD.

Jun. 3.

LETTER CCCXXIX.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville; still upon the Duke of Buckingham's Election at Cambridge: inclosing Copies of the Dukes and the King's Letters to the University.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

WORTHY SIR

You shall have at this present not much news but what we University Men have bred.

On Saterday My Lord of Berkshire sent a grateful Letter to express his obligation to us who were his friends. It was directed to Mr. Chester of Trinity

Colledge whose brother lives with him. *We* were an Headlesse company, and he could not direct it otherwise.

The Parliament was wonderfully exasperated by our Election, aggravating it as an act of Rebellion, and had sent Letters to fetch up our Doctors to answer it; but the King stopped them and commanded them not to stir in this business of the University, which belonged not to them but to himself. So it stayd for that time, and they will (as I ever thought) find (notwithstanding their mighty threats) that they do but beat the wind and strike at Sprites. Sure I am that ours fear no colours, that I may say no more. Dr Eden our burgess, whilst the business was arguing in the House of Commons, made a speach desiring them (amongst many other things) not to have so hard a conceit of the University till they had more information; when perhaps they should find that which was done not to be an act of rebellion, but of loyalty and obedience. Whatsoever was more in his speech I know not, but that it was much distasted.

On Tuesday at night, late, returned Mr Reading who went to present our Election (unto the Duke). The Duke gave him for a reward a Chain of an 100li. He brought with him Letters from the Duke, the King, and the two Bishops. The two first were read publicly in the Regent House at the Congregation on Wednesday at three o'Clock. The Copies whereof

I send You. Perhaps you will imagine that from his Majesty was purposely framed to stop all gaps when the Parliament might enter upon us.

* * * * *

Christ Coll. Yours most ready to be commanded
June 10. JOSEPH MEAD.

The Duke of Buckingham's Letter to the University of Cambridge.

June 1626.

Mr. Vicechancellor and Gentlemen, the Senate of the University of Cambridge,

There is no one thing that concerns me in this life I hold more dear than the good opinion of Learned and Honest Men; amongst which number, as you have ever held first rank in the estimation of the Commonwealth and fame of the Christian world, so in conferring this honour of your Chancellorship upon me, I must confess you have satisfied an ambition of mine own (which I hope will never forsake me), and that is to be well thought of by men that deserve well, and men of your profession. Yet I cannot attribute this honour to any desert in me, but to a respect you bear the sacred memory of my dead Master the King of Schollers, who loved you, and honoured you often with his presence; and to my gracious Master now living, who inherits, with his blessed Fathers virtues, the affection which he bare your University. I beseech You as you have now made your choice with so many kind and noble circumstances, as the manner is to me as much as the matter, so to assure yourselves that you have cast your Votes upon your Servant, who is as apprehensive of the time you have shewed your affections in, as of the honour you have given him. And I earnestly request You all, that you would be pleased not to judge me comparatively by the success and happiness you have had in your former choice of Chancellors, who as they knew better (perhaps by an advantage of education in your University) how to value the desert of men of your qualities and degrees; so, could they not be more willing to cherish them than myself, who will make amends for my want of scholarship, in my love unto the professors of it, and to the source from whence it comes; having now just cause more cheerfully to employ my uttermost endeavours (with that favour I enjoy from a Royal Master) to the maintaining of the Charters, Priviledges, and Immunities of your University in general, and to the advancing of the particular merits of the Students therein. And since I am so far engaged unto You, I will presume upon a further cour-

tesy; which is, that you would be pleased to supply me with your advice and suggest a way unto me (as my self shall not likewise fail to think upon some means) how we may make Posterity remember you had a thankfull Chancellor, and one that really both loved You and Your University: which is a resolution writt in an honest heart by him that wants much to expresse his affection unto You, who will ever be

Your faithful freind and humble Servant

BUCKINGHAM.

The King's Letter to the University.

TRUSTIE and wellbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas upon our pleasure intimated unto you by the Bishop of Durham for the choice of your Chancellor, You have with such a duty as we expected, highly satisfied us in your Election; We cannot in our own princely nature (who are much possessed with this testimony of your loyal and ready affections) forbear to let you know how much you are made therein partakers of our royal approbation; and we shall ever conceive that an honour done to a person we favour is out of a loyal respect had unto our self: and as we shall ever testifie Buckingham worthie of this your Election, so shall you find the fruit of it. For we that have found him a faithfull servant to our deare Father of blessed memorie, and ourself, can best undertake that he will prove such a one unto You, and shall assist him with a gracious willingness in any thing that may concern the good of your University in general, and the particular merits of any Students therein. Given under our Signet at our Pallace at Westminster the 5th day of June in the second year of our Reign.

LETTER CCCXXX.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Parliament dissolved.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

WORTHIE SIR

I WILL tell you the last and the worst first: It is the newes here that the Parliament was dissolved on

Thursday night, when the Commons had made a Remonstrance to his Majesty but would not grant him any supply for his necessities unless they might have justice against the Duke. What will become of us now, God knowes.

* * * * *

Christ Coll. Yours most ready to be
June 17. 1626. commanded

JOSEPH MEAD.

Inclosure.

"On Monday the House of Commons sate from eight in the morning till past four afternoon, then arose to dine. It is said there spake then in the House above TWO HUNDRED PERSONS; the business was only a question whether the Bill of Subsidies or the Remonstrance to his Majesty's Letter on Friday before should first be perfected! By the clamour of voices they say it could not be well discerned; but upon dividing of the House, the number of those that would have the Remonstrance first done, was far greater than of those for the subsidies. At six a clock againe they returned, and sate till almost nine.

"On Wednesday they sent to beseech Audience of his Majesty about serious business concerning all the Commons of the land. To which his Majesty answered they should hear from him on Thursday Morning.

"And on Thursday so they did, but not for audience, but a dissolution of the Parliament, which makes us (and justly) to be much dejected and hang our heads. That night also was the Earl of Bristol conveyed to the Tower, and it is feared some more may perhaps follow him thither."

LETTER CCCXXXI.

Mr. John Pory to Mr. Joseph Mead, upon the first removal of the Queen's French Attendants.

[MS. HARL. 383. *Orig.*]

*** We now return for a moment to the domestic feuds between Charles and his Queen.

These, as the reader will have discovered from former Letters, were chiefly excited by the uncomplying bigotry of the French train by whom she was attended; and who by their folly and absurdity defeated no object but their own.

At the very moment when they made their efforts most offensive, both Parliament and People were calling for a rigid execution of the penal laws against the Catholics: and Charles, in addition to the mortification which he had received from Buckingham's business, found it necessary not merely for personal comfort, but on public considerations, to break up the Household of his Consort.

Of JOHN PORY, the writer of the Letter which immediately follows, an Account will be found in Maty's Review. He was born about 1570; was educated at Cambridge; and in 1610, as appears from a Letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, was a member of the House of Commons. From 1612 to 1618 he was upon the continent; at Paris, at Turin, in Venice, and in Holland. In 1619 by his interest with the Earl of Warwick he was appointed Secretary to the Colony of Virginia, and in 1623 was one of the Commissioners for enquiring into the state of that country. In the year following he returned to England, where he seems to have remained for the rest of his life

about the Court. He died in or about the year 1635[a]. Thus much it has seemed necessary that the reader should know of the history of John Pory, who, it must be owned relates some strange particulars of conduct as well of the Queen as of her suite.

* * * * *

On Munday last about Three after noone, the King passing into the Queen's side, and finding some Frenchemen her servants unreverently dauncing and curvetting in her presence, tooke her by the hand and led her into his lodgings, locking the doore after him, and shutting out all save onely the Queen. Presently upon this, my Lord Conway called forth the French bishop and others of that Clergie, into S^t^ James's Parke, where he tolde them the Kinge's pleasure was, all her Ma^ties^ servants of that nation, men and weomen, young and olde, should departe the Kingdome; together with the reasons that inforced his Majesty so to doe. The Bishop stood much upon it that being in the nature of an Ambassador he could not goe unlesse the King his Master should command him; but he was tolde againe, that the King his Master had nothing to doe here in England, and that if he were unwilling to goe, England would finde force enough to conveye him hence. The bishop had as much reason to daunce loth to depart, as the King and all his well affected subjects had to sende him packing: for he had as muche power of conferring Orders and dis-

[a] See Maty's Review, vol. v. p. 123.

pensing Sacraments, Oathes, &c. as the Pope could give, and so by consequence was a most dangerous Instrument to worke the Pope's endes here. The Kinges message being thus delivered by My Lord Conway, his Lordship accompanied with Mr Treasurer and Mr Comptroller went into the Queens lodginges, and told all the French likewise that were there that His Majesties pleasure was they should all departe thence to Somersett House; and remaine there till they knowe farther his Majesties pleasure. The Women howled and lamented as if they had been going to execution, but all in vaine, for the yeomen of the Guard by that Lords appointment thrust them and all their countryfolkes out of the Queen's lodgings, and locked the dores after them. It is said also the Queen, when she understood the designe, grewe very impatient, and brake the glasse windowes with her fiste; but since, I hear, her rage is appeased, and the King and shee, since they went together to Nonsuche, have beene very jocund together. The same day, the Frenche being all at Somersett House, the King, (as I have heard some to affirme) went thither and made a speache to them to this purpose, that he hoped the good King his brother of France would not take amisse what he had done; for the French he said (particular persons he would not taxe) had occasioned many jarres and discontents between the Queen and him; such indeed as longer were insufferable. He

prayed them therefore to pardon him if he sought his owne ease and safety, and said moreover that he had given order to his Treasurer to reward every one of them for their years service. So the next Morning, being Tuesday, there was distributed among them eleven thousand pounds in money, and about twenty thousand poundes worth of Jewels. Of this magnanimous acte I thinke the King hath such satisfactory reasons, as will stop the mouths of all gainsayers[a].

[a] In justice to King Charles's generosity, the List of his rewards given at this time ought to be recorded: and with him it was a time of need. The List is preserved in the Harleian Manuscript Num. 390. which has been so often quoted. The amount however is not quite so great as is stated in Mr. Pory's Letter.

"His Majesties Directions to Sir Henry Vane knight Cofferer, for the disbursement of the several sums of money given as Rewards to her Majestys late Servants at their departure out of England Aug. 1626.

In primis to Madam Trugesse	£1000
To the two Governesses and five Maids of Honour	2200
To Madam Nurse and her husband	1000
To the Semstresse	50
To the Starcher	50
To the Laundresse	70
To the five Chamberers	1200
To the Treasurer	150
To the two Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber	400
To the Physician	300
To the Four Squires	400
To the Six Cup-bearers, Carver, and Sewers	360
To the Three Gentlemen Ushers, daily waiters	300
To Four Grooms of the Privy Chamber	140
To Three Gentlemen Ushers, quarter waiters	150
To the Chirurgion	60
To the Apothecary	50
To the Two Pages of the Wardrobe	100
To Four of the Presence	160
To Eight Grooms of the Chamber	160
To the Yeomen of the Wardrobe	40
To the Yeomen of the Pantry	40
To the Groomes of the Robes	30
To six Footmen	120
To two Pages of the Robes	40
To two Children of the Kitchen	40
To the Sadler	20
To two Scowrers of the Kitchen	30
Carried forward	£8660

One might be the extravagant power of this French Bishop, who when he was last in France suing to be a Secretary of Estate, fell short of that and so tooke instructions from the Pope's Nuntio, which in case he could bring to effect, he was promised a Cardinalls Hat, which now lyes in the duste. The reste of that clergy were the most superstitious, turbulent, and Jesuited Priests that could be found in all France; very fitt to make firebrands of sedition in a forren state; so that his Majesty so long as he gave them intertainement, did but nourishe so many vypers in his bosome. Nay their insolencies towardes the Queene were not to be endured, for besides that those * * * * * knaves would by way of confession interrogate her Majestie * * * * *

lique cause. Had they not also made her to dable in the durte in a foul morning from Somersett house to S^{t} James, her Luciferian Confessour riding allong by her in his Coach! Yea they have made her to go barefoot, to spin, to eat her meat out of tryne[a] dishes, to waite at the table and serve her servants, with many other ridiculous and absurd penances. And if these rogues dare thus insulte over the daughter, sister, and wife of so great Kinges, what slavery would they not make us, the people, to undergo. Besides all this, Letters of some of these Frenche about her Majesty are said to have been intercepted, by which it hath appeared they have not only practised with the Pope on the one side and the English Papists on the other side, but have had intelligence also with the Spaniarde. It was intended they should presently have departed, but they are not yet gone; and Monday next is said to be the peremptory day of their departure. Meanewhile they tooke possession of all the Queen's apparell and linen which they found at Somersett House, as being their Vales (whether plate and Jewels also, I cannot certainly tell) but the Queen having left her but one gown and two smocks to her back, these Frenshe freebooters were intreated by some of the Lordes of the Council to send Her Majestie some apparel, and so they sent her only one old satting gowne, keeping all the residue to themselfes.

[a] treen, wooden.

Her Master of the Horse likewise, the Count de Scipieres, layd clayme to all the horses and furniture under his chardge, but in vaine. It is hoped after they are gone, the Queen will by degrees finde the sweetnes of liberty, in being exempt from those beggarly rudiments of Popish penance. Two English priestes she hath nowe allowed her viz. Potter and Godfrey, some adde a third, to witt Preston: all three of them have taken the Oath of Allegiance, some say of Supremacy also. Two of the Queen's weomen servants doe stay with her, namely her Nurse and one Madame Vantelett that hath used to dresse her: besides, there be some douzen others of the inferior sorte, as bakers, cooks, &c. retained here. But the Foure Englishe ladies sworne of her Bedchamber are the Duchesse of Buckingham, the Marques[a] Hamiltoun and the Countesses of Carlile and Denbigh, against whom at their first being appointed, the French shut the doores, as presaging what would befall them; whereas nowe ours have cryed quittance with them. And upon this occasion the Count de Tillieres, her lord chamberlain, rode post on Thursday was sevenight into France, but some say, he was stopt at Dover till suche time, as a messenger went from his Majesty to carry the Frenche King word of the deed done and the reasons thereof. Nowe it is thought that my lord Carleton who went for France on Munday was se-

[a] Marchioness.

venight, went to give the first advertisement thereof, although it were given out he went to treate of a Peace with Gondomar.

* * * * *

Your faithful Servant

London this Saturday Morning being the 5th of July 1626. JOHN PORY.

LETTER CCCXXXII.

The King to the Duke of Buckingham: for the final driving away of the Monsieurs.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 6. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S OWN HAND.]

STEENIE

I HAVE receaved your Letter by Dic Greame, this is my Answer. I command you to send all the French away to morrow out of the Toune. If you can, by faire meanes (but stike not longe in disputing) otherways force them away, dryving them away lyke so manie wyld beastes untill ye have shipped them, and so the Devill goe with them. Lett me heare no answer bot of the performance of my command. So I rest

Your faithfull constant

Oaking, the 7th of Agust 1626. loving frend CHARLES R.

LETTER CCCXXXIII.

Mr. John Pory to Mr. Joseph Mead, upon the driving of the French part of the Queen's Household from Somerset House, and sending them to Dover.

[MS. HARL. 383. *Orig.*]

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On Munday last was the peremptory day for the departure of the Frenche: what time the Kinges Officers attending them with Coaches, Cartes, and Barges, they contumaciously refused to go, saying they would not depart until they had order from their King; and, above all, the Bishop stood upon his [illegible]otilios. This news being sent in poste to the King, on Tuesday morning his Majesty dispatched away to London the Captain of the Guard attended with a competent number of his yeomen, as likewise with heralds, messengers, and trumpeters first to proclaim his Majesty's pleasure at Somerset house gate; which if it were not speedily obeyed, the yeomen of the Guard were to put it in execution, by turning all the Frenche out of Somerset House by head and shoulders, and shutting the gate after them. Which news so soon as the French heard, their courage came downe, and they yielded to be gone the next tyde.

The time being come, my Lord Conway, Mr Treasurer, and Mr Comptroller went to see them per-

forme their promise, and brought the Bishop out of the gate to the boot of his Coach, where he, making a stand, told them he had one favour more to crave at their handes, namely, that they would permit him to stay till the midnight-tide, to the ende he might go away private and coole, which was not denyed him.

So on Tuesday night they lay at Graves Ennd: on Wednesday night at Rochester: yesternight at Canterbury: and to night they are to lodge at Dover from whence God send them a faire winde.

My Lord Carleton, just a weeke before they were cast out of Whitehall, viz. on Monday was fortnight, was sent expressly to the French King to signifie the full performance thereof, which was determined to be brought to passe before such time as he could [redacted] his audience with the French King. When the thing was done, Mons^r de Vicq. weñte to relate the certainty thereof.

For all the Kinges Royall bounty amongst them, mentioned in my former, they patronized upon the Queen debtes to the value of above £19,000. which the Queen at first took upon her to owe; but after being asked more earnestly by the King, she confessed freely those debts were but counterfeits.

Of the Frenche, six persons onely remaine about her; viz^t her Nurse, Madame Vantelet that dresseth her, a cook, a baker, a pantler, and taylor.

By the Treaty she was to have but three skore

servants, which were now augmented to four hundred and forty.

She hath also a French priest left, but the silliest of them all, as also Philips a Scottish priest, with Potter and Godfrey (antagonistes to the Pope's supremacy here) English priestes.

To the four protestant ladies of the Bedchamber are added two or three popish ones, namely the Countesses of Buckingham and Rutland, and some say my Lady Savage.

The Duchesse of Tremouille being defrayed here by the King, was appointed to have lyen at S^{t} James's had not the Housekeeper sent the King word the French had so defiled that House, as a weeks worke not make it cleane.

* * * * *

London Fryday Yo^{r} affectionate Servant
Aug. 11th 1626. JO. P.

LETTER CCCXXXIV.

M^{r}. Pory to M^{r}. Mead. The Settlement of the Queen's new Household.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

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THE Queen's Houshold is now setled. Queen Annes old servants that had pensions being all entertained. My Lord of Rutland refuseth to be her

Lord Chamberlain. Sir George Goring is her Vice Chamberlain: my Lord Percy Master of her Horse: my Lord of Holland her Steward: the Earl of Totness, alias Lord Carew, her Receiver: Sir Thomas Savage her Chancellor: &c. She hath some twenty French about her, whereof twelve are Musicians. The Countess of Buckingham is also gone into the Bedchamber.

I have spoken with the man (one of my Lord Conwaye's Secretaries) who on Satturday last saw all the French imbarke at Dover, and the same Evening saw the ships that transported them all come to anchor upon the English shore. They were very sullen and dogged at their first setting out from home, but their kind entertainment by the way made them nic[illegible] by that time they came at Dover.

The bishop being come to Rochester met there with his commission from the French King to ordain him Ambassador, notice whereof he presently sent his Majesty; but the King utterly rejected him, saying he had done him so many wrongs, as he should never see his face more. What success my Lord Carleton (that carried the message of this proceeding to the French King) hath had, is not yet known. Mons[r] de Tillieres the Queen's late Chamberlain having got the start of him, and a Courier also that expressely carried the newes.

* * * * *

There are now some two hundred mariners and sailors come up from Portsmouth for their wages, some twenty whereof I saw this day take the Duke's coach-horses by the head, and stay his Coache; who thereupon gave them fair words, and promised that at two of the clock he would give them an answer that should content them: but when two of the Clock came, he beguiled them in coming by water; and made them more eager to speak with him than before.

* * * * *

London, Fryday night
Aug. 17th 1626.

LETTER CCCXXXV.

King Charles to the Duke of Buckingham: with Letters for the King and Queen of Bohemia.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 5. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

STEENIE ——————

I SEND you heerwith Letters to my Sister and Brother (I place them so, becaus I thinke the gray Meare is the best horse). As for Newes I can say but litell yet, Yrland being the onlie Egg we have yet sitten upon, and having a thike shell wee have not yet hached it. For Blenuill he hes yet but made his formale demands concerning the Ships, to which he has a delatorie answer while we heere from France concerning

the restitution of oure Ships. This is all I have to say to thee at this tyme, but that that I shall ever say and thinke, that I ame and ever will be

Your faithfull loving constant

For frend

Yourself. CHARLES R.

LETTER CCCXXXVI.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

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It is affirmed from London that the Duke was so hotly encountered by the Sailors about this day Sennight that he was since faine to set a guard about his House. They demanded their pay with very high words, and that if they were not satisfied they would &c. I know not what you take the cause to be of the Kings not coming to Newmarket, as was expected and he purposed; but I hear some of opinion that the Duke likes not so unguarded a place.

* * * * *

Christ Coll. Yours most ready

Octob. 14. to be commanded

1626 JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCCXXXVII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Rhé Expedition.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

SIR

BECAUSE our last News cancels whatsoever went before I will first tell you what came last night concerning the Action of Re. viz. That it was now at length come to an end with no little dishonour to our nation, excessive charge to our treasury, and great slaughter of our men. For after a day and a half's fight of but 2500 of ours (as is said) against 7000 French, we are driven thence with the slaughter of about 500 of our men amongst whom Sir Charles Rich, Sir Alexander Brett, with other Colonels and Captains. Prisoners of note taken, Lords Cromwell, Mountjoy, Sir Andrew Gray, &c. Two pieces of Ordnance lost; the rest being afore hand shipped, as was the Duke. The News came on Tuesday of the Dukes returne with the Fleet to Plymouth; unto whom his Majesty sent presently Mr. Murrey of the Bedchamber with a gracious message. He was expected to be at London, Wednesday or Thursday.

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17th Nov. 1627.

LETTER CCCXXXVIII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The King and Duke visit Deptford.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

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'On Thursday June 19th was a Libel taken down from a Post in Colman Street by a Constable, and carried to my Lord Mayor; by his Lordship considered on in a Court of Aldermen; and by the two Sherifs sent to the King, with charge they should deliver it to none but his Majesty. Some part whereof (we hear saith mine author) ran thus presumptously, 'Who rules the Kingdome? The King. Who rules 'the King? The Duke. Who rules the Duke? The 'Devil.' And that the Libellers there professe, Let the Duke look to it; for they intend shortly to use him worse than they did his Doctor[a], and if things be not shortly reformed, they will work reformation themselves. At the sight whereof, they say his Majesty (and he had reason) was much displeased; and commanded that a double guard should be upon the watch every night

* * * * *

This Week about Wednesday, His Majesty went with the Duke (taking him into his owne Coach, and

[a] Doctor Lamb, the Duke's chaplain, who had become obnoxious, was cruelly murdered in the streets of London, June 13th. 1626.

so riding through the City, as it were to grace him) to Deptford to see the Ships: where having seen ten fair Ships ready rigged for Rochelle, they say he uttered these words to the Duke. 'George, there are some that wish that both these and thou mightest both perish. But care not for them. We will both perish together, if thou doest.'

Christ Coll.
June 29. 1628

LETTER CCCXXXIX.

The King to the Duke of Buckingham to assemble the Army at Portsmouth.

[MS. HARL. 6988. NUM. 50. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

BUCKINGHAM I command You to draw my Armie together to Porchemouth, to the end I may send them speedli to Rochell. I shall send after you directions how and whaire to billett them, untill the tyme that ye will be able to shipp them; for the doing whairof, this shall be your sufficient warrant, it being the command of

Your louing faithfull constant
Whithall, the 6th of frend
June 1628. CHARLES R.

LETTER CCCXL.

Dudley Lord Carleton to the Queen; announcing the Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham.

*** "There was a younger brother of mean fortunes," says Sir Henry Wotton, "born in the county of Suffolk, by name John Felton, by nature of a deep melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution, but bred in the active way of a souldier; and thereby raised to the place of Lieutenant to a foot-company in the regiment of Sir James Ramsey. This was the man that closely within himself had conceived the Duke's death. But what may have been the immediate or greatest motive of that felonious conception, is even yet in the clouds.

"It was said at first, that he had been stung with a denial of his captain's place, who died in England; whereof thus much indeed is true, that the Duke, before he would invest him in the said place, advising first (as his manner was) with his Colonel, he found him to interpose for one Powell his own lieutenant, a gentleman of extraordinary valour; and according to military custom the place was good that the lieutenant of the Colonel's company might well pretend to the next vacant Captain-ship under the same Regiment: which Felton acknowledged to be in itself very usual and equitable, besides the special merit of the person: so as the aforesaid conceit of some rancour harboured upon this denial had no true ground.

"There was another imagination, that between a knight of the same county (whom the Duke had lately taken into some good degree of favour) and the said Felton, there had been ancient quarrels not yet well healed, which might perhaps lye festering in his breast, and by a certain inflammation produce this effect. But that carries small probability, that Felton would so deface his own act, as to make the Duke no more than an oblique sacrifice to the fumes of his private revenge upon a third person.

"Therefore the truth is, that either to honest a deed after it was done, or to slumber his conscience in the doing, he studied other incentives, alledging not three hours before his execution to Sir Richard Gresham [a] two only inducements thereof. The first as he made it in order, was a certain libellous Book written by one Eggleston a Scotish physician, which made the Duke one of the foulest monsters upon earth; and, indeed, unworthy not only of life in a Christian Court, and under so vertuous a King, but of any room within the bounds of all humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the

[a] *qu.* Greham.

least semblance of truth. The second, was the Remonstrance itself of the Lower House of Parliament against him, which perchance he thought the fairest cover, so he put in the second place.

" Whatsoever were the true motive, which I think none can determine but the Prince of darkness itself, he did thus prosecute the effect.

" In a by-Cutler's shop of Tower-hill he bought a tenpenny knife (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt,) and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other. This done, he made shift, partly as it is said on horse-back and partly on foot, to get to Portsmouth, for he was indigent and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged his desperation.

" At Portsmouth, on Saturday being the 23d. of August of that current year, he pressed without any suspicion in such a time of so many pretenders to employment, into an inward Chamber, where the Duke was at breakfast (the last of his repasts in this world) accompanied with men of quality and action, with Monsieur de Soubes, and Sir Thomas Fryer: and there, a little before the Duke's rising from the table, he went and stood expecting till he should passe through a kind of lobby between that room and the next, where were divers attending him. Towards which passage, as I conceive, somewhat darker than the chamber which he voided, while the Duke came with Sir Thomas Fryer close at his ear, in the very moment as the said Knight withdrew himself from the Duke, this assasinate gave him with a back blow a deep wound into his left side, leaving the knife in his body; which the Duke himself pulling out, on a sudden effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the table in the next room and immediately expired.

" Certain it is, that some good while before, Sir Clement Throckmorton, a gentleman then living, of grave judgement, had in a private conference advised him to wear a privie-coat, whose counsell the Duke received very kindly; but gave him this answer, that against any popular fury, a shirt of mail would be but a silly defence; and as for any single man's assault, he took himself to be in no danger. So dark is destiny.

" One thing in this enormous accident is, I must confesse to me beyond all wonder, as I received it from a gentleman of judicious and diligent observation, and one whom the Duke well favoured: that within the space of not many minutes after the fall of the body and removal thereof into the first room, there was not a living creature in either of the chambers, no more than if it had lien in the sands of Æthiopia; whereas commonly in such cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place to hearken and to see. But it should seem the very horror of the fact had stupified all curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murtherer himself might have escaped (for who gave the blow none could affirm) if he had not lingered about the House

below, not by any confused arrest of conscience, as hath been seen in like examples, but by very pride in his own deed, as if in effect there were little difference between being remembered by a virtuous fame, or an illustrious infamy.

" Thus died this great peer in the thirty-sixth year of his age complete, and three days over, in a time of great recourse unto him and dependance upon him, the house and town full of servants and suitors, his dutchess in an upper room scarce yet out of bed; and the court at that time not above six or nine miles from him, which had been the stage of his greatness." Reliquiæ Wotton. 12° Lond. 1651. p. 112.

The Paper which was found in Felton's hat, and by which he was identified as the assassin of the Duke of Buckingham, is still preserved. It was recently found among the Evelyn papers at Wotton in Surrey; and is now in the possession of M^r. Upcott of the London Institution. The curious reader will probably be pleased to know the pedigree of its possessors. Sir Edward Nicholas, who had the first possession of it, was one of the persons before whom Felton was examined at Portsmouth. His daughter married Sir Richard Brown. M^r. John Evelyn married Sir Richard Brown's daughter. Lady Evelyn, his descendant, presented it to M^r. Upcott.

MADDAM

I AM to trouble your Grace, with a most Lamentable Relation; This day betwixt nine and ten of the clock in the morning, the Duke of Buckingham then comming out of a Parlor, into a Hall, to goe to his coach and soe to the King, (who was four miles of) having about him diverse Lords, Colonells, and Captains, & many of his owne Servants, was by one Felton (once a Lieutenant of this our Army) slaine at one blow, with a dagger-knife. In his staggering he turn'd about, uttering onely this word, " Villaine!" & never spake word more, but presently plucking out the knife from himselfe, before he fell to the ground, hee made towards the Traytor, two or three paces, and then fell against a Table although he were upheld

by diverse that were neere him, that (through the villaines close carriage in the act) could not perceive him hurt at all, but guess'd him to be suddenly oversway'd with some apoplexie, till they saw the blood come gushing from his mouth and the wound, soe fast, that life, and breath, at once left his begored body.

Maddam, you may easily guesse what outcryes were then made, by us that were Commaunders and Officers there present, when wee saw him thus dead in a moment, and slaine by an unknowne hand; for it seemes that the Duke himselfe onely knew who it was that had murdered him, and by meanes of the confused presse at the instant about his person, wee neither did, nor could. The Souldiers feare his losse will be their utter ruine, wherefore att that instant the house and the court about it were full, every man present with the Dukes body, endeavouring a care of itt. In the meane time Felton pass'd the throng, which was confusedly great, not soe much as mark'd or followed, in soe much that not knowing where, nor who he was that had done that fact, some came to keepe guard at the gates, and others went to the ramports of the Towne; in all which time the villaine was standing in the kitchin of the same house, and after the inquiry made by a multitude of captaines and gentlemen then pressing into the house and court, and crying out a maine "where is the villain? where is the butcher?" hee most audaciously and resolutely drawing

forth his sword, came out and went amongst them, saying boldly, "I am the Man, heere I am;" upon which diverse drew upon him, with an intent to have then dispatcht him; but S^r^ Thomas Morton, my 'selfe, and some others, us'd such means (though with much trouble and difficulty) that wee drew him out of their hands, and by order of my Lord High Chamberlaine, wee had the charge of keeping him from any comming to him untill a guard of musketeers were brought, to convey him to the Governor's House, where wee were discharg'd.

My Lord High Chamberlaine and M^r^ Secretary Cooke were then at the Governor's house, did there take his examination of which as yet there is nothing knowne, onely whilst he was in our custody I asked him several Questions, to which he answer'd; viz^t^. He sayd, he was a Protestant in Religion; hee also expressed himselfe that he was partly discontented for want of eighty pounds pay which was due unto him; and for that hee being Lieutenant of a company of foot, the company was given over his head unto another, and yet, hee sayd, that that did not move him to this resolution, but that he reading the Remonstrance of the house of Parliament it came into his mind, that in committing the Act of killing the Duke, hee should doe his Country great good service. And he sayd that to morrow he was to be pray'd for in London. I then asked him, att what Church, and to

what purpose; hee told me at a Church by Fleet-Street-Conduit, and, as for a man much discontented in mind. Now wee seeing things to fall from him in this manner, suffer'd him not to bee further question'd by any, thinking it much fitter for the Lords to examine him, and to finde it out, and know from him whether he was encouraged and sett on by any to performe this wicked deed.

But to returne to the screeches made att the fatall blow given, the Duchesse of Buckingham and the Countesse of Anglesey came forth into a Gallery which look'd into the Hall where they might behold the blood of their deerest Lord gushing from him; ah poore Ladies, such was their screechings, teares, and distractions, that I never in my Life heard the like before, and hope never to hear the like againe. His Ma^ties griefe for the losse of him, was express'd to be more then great, by the many teares hee hath shed for him, with which I will conclude this sad and untimely Newes.

Felton had sowed a writing in the crowne of his hatt, half within the lyning, to shew the cause why hee putt this cruell act in execution; thinking hee should have beene slaine in the place: and it was thus: "If I bee slaine, let no man condemne me, but ra-
"ther condemne himselfe; it is for our sinns that our
"harts are hardned, and become sencelesse, or else
"hee had not gone soe long unpunished.

"JOHN FELTON."

" Hee is unworthy of the name of a Gentleman,
" or Soldier, in my opinion, that is afrayd to sacrifice
" his life for the honor of God, his King, and Country.
" JOHN FELTON."

Maddam, this is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, yet all too much too, if it had soe pleased God. I thought it my bounden duty howsoever to let your Ma^tie have the first intelligence of it, by the hand of

Maddam

Yo^r sorrowfull servant

DUDLEY CARLETON.

LETTER CCCXLI.

M^r. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville; respecting Felton.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

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FELTON was on Friday night brought to the Tower by water, where multitudes of people being gathered to see him, he desired them all the way as he came to pray for him, who with a general voice cried 'Lord comfort thee', 'The Lord be merciful unto thee', or such like words.

Christ Coll. * * * * *

Sept. 13^th 1628.

LETTER CCCXLII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Further Particulars of the murder. The King's regard for the Duke's memory, &c.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

THE Doctor[a] relates that a Scottishman a bishop in Ireland, who was at Portsmouth when the Duke was slain, affirmed to him one particular more of Felton than we have yet heard: viz. that when he gave the blow he said 'God have mercy upon thy Soul.' Sir Robert Brook (who on Wednesday invited me to the Rose) affirmed that my Lord of Cleveland (who had but newly turned his back from the Duke and was so near that he heard the thump) avouched as much either to himself or some other friend of his.

As Felton the last week passed through Kingston upon Thames, an old woman bestowed this salutation upon him: 'Now God blesse thee, little David,' quoth she; meaning he had killed Goliah. He had hitherto (saith my author) been fairly used in the Tower, being put into the same lodging where Sir John Elliot lay, and allowed two dishes of meat every meal. Some confidently report he shall be reserved till the Parliament; but others pray God he be not racked and put to death before. He denies what

[a] Dr. Meddus, one of Mr. Mead's correspondents.

Savage[a] said, that he had offered him eighty pounds to kill the Duke, forty pounds whereof in hand: and thought indeed that Savage will prove a man distraught of his wits.

The King, they say, in fourteen days after the Duke's death dispatched more business than the Duke had done in three months before.

The Fleet went out from Portsmouth eighty two sail, and were accompanied with some three score and ten more from Plymouth. Its said Wednesday last being the Spring time[b] was intended for their entrance upon the Haven at Rochelle.

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Some that observe the passages in Court (saith my author M.P.[c]) say the King seems as much affected to the Duke's memory as he was to his person; minding nothing so much for the present, as the advancement of his friends and followers. And if any accuse him in any thing whereof his Majesty might take notice, he imputes it wholly to himself; if in other matters, he answers, 'The party durst not say so if the Duke were alive.' Besides, he saith, 'Let not the Duke's 'enemies seek to catch at any of his Offices, for they 'will find themselves deceived.' And whereas Sir Ralph Clare and Sir William Croftes, ever since they were turned out of their places in the Privy Chamber for opposing the Duke in the second Parliament of

[a] A Buckinghamshire gentleman, who was taken to the Tower "for speaking words importing as though he knew of Felton's purpose before he committed the fact:" and who will be again mentioned hereafter.

[b] qu. tide.

[c] Probably M[r]. Pory.

King Charles, have lyen within his Majesty's House at St. James; now since the Duke's death, his Majesty hath banished them thence also. His Majesty since his death has been used to call him his Martyr, and to say the world was much mistaken in him; for whereas it was commonly thought he ruled his Majesty, it was clean otherwise, having been his Majesty's most faithful and obedient servant in all things; as his Majesty hereafter would make sensibly to appear unto the world.

On Thursday the last week, the Heralds were sent for by my Lord Treasurer, who gave them order to project as ample and sumptuous a Funeral as could be performed; and so they brought in proportion of some things larger than were in the Funeral of King James. And all this must be done at the Kings charge; and is said, by the Courtiers, would stand his Majesty in £40,000, and that my Lord Fielding Master of Wardrobe would gain by the London measure and the Lists £5000, as Cranfield had done at King James his funeral while he was in that office.

The Duke, before he went his fatal Journey to Portesmouth, made a Will, wherein his executors are the Lord Savage, Sir R. Pye, Mr. Olyver, and Mr. Fotherley, two of his servants.

They found his debts to be £61,000, which it is reported the King will pay.

20 Sept. 1628.

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LETTER CCCXLIII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Duke's Funeral.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

WORTHIE SIR

You shall receive by this such intelligence as we had on Saturday last from London. To wit, as followeth.

'London Septemb. 19th 1628.

'The Newes of the King of Spaines death is now quite silenced; but it is true, they say, that the Duke of Modena was coming thence Ambassador hether, and was already come into France onward on his journey, where meeting with the news that the Duke was slayne, he returned back again.

'Notwithstanding that on yesterday was se'nnight all the Heralds were consulting with my Lord Treasurer to project as great a Funeral for the Duke as ever any subject of England had: nevertheless the last night at ten of the clock his Funeral was solemnized in as poor and confused a manner as hath been seen, marching from Wallingford House over against White-Hall to Westminster Abbey; there being not much above an hundred mourners, who attended upon an empty Coffin borne upon six mens shoulders; the Dukes corpse itself being there interred yesterday; as if it had been doubted the people in their madness

might have surprised it. But to prevent all disorder the train-bands kept a guard on both sides of the way, all along, from Wallingford House to Westminster Church, beating up their drums loud, and carrying their pikes and musquets upon their shoulders as in a march, not trailing them at their heels, as is usual at a mourning. As soon as the Coffin was entred the Church, they came all away without giving any volley of shot at all. And this was the obscure catastrophe of that great man.

'The cause of this unexpected alteration of the intended funeral pomp, is said to be because on Sunday last My Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Rutland, Mr Oliver and Mr Fotherley two of the Dukes servants, moved his Majesty that all that charge projected might be spared, and go to the payment of his debts; which his Majesty yielded unto. Others say, it was concluded in Counsell. Some, that there is some foule treason of his like to be discovered, which made this abatement in the sumptuousness of his Funeral. Some, that my Lord of Canterbury hath letters to such purpose.

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'John Felton (whose Anagram is No Flie not) some say yet shall be reserved till the Parliament.'

* * * * *

'On Monday last, September 22. two grave and learned Divines were sent to him by order from his Majesty, to try if by working upon his conscience, they

could get out of him who were his complices and confederates. They found the man exceeding penitent for the blood he had shed, and no way arrogating to himself the good that might come of that act, but taking all the evil to himself, and ascribing the good to God Almighty. And withal he protested upon his salvation that no living creature was ever made acquainted with his intent. That he took his first resolution on Monday the 18th of August, but six days before he acted it; and that his only confederate and setter on was the Remonstrance of the Parliament, which he then verily thought in his soul and conscience, to be a sufficient warrant for what he did upon the Duke's person. Now he makes two suites to his Majesty; the one is, that he may receive the Communion before he suffer death; and the other that until then, he may be permitted to weare sackcloth about his loins, to sprinkle ashes upon his head, and to carry a halter about his neck in testimony of repentance, for shedding the blood of a man, and that so suddenly as he had no time given him to repent. That his own blood is ready for the satisfaction of the Law; and he is confident that the blood of Christ shall wash away this and all his other sins. Thus, or to this effect, I was this morning told by one of those two Divines.'

Another friend told me that on Tuesday morning, some of the Lords being with him, my Lord of Dorsett told him, 'Mr Felton it is the Kings pleasure you

'should be put to torture, to make you confesse your 'Complices, and therefore prepare yourself for the 'rack.' To whom Felton: 'I do not believe my 'Lord that it is the Kings pleasure: for he is a just 'and a gracious Prince, and will not have his subjects 'to be tortured against Law. I do again affirm upon 'my salvation, that my purpose was known to no man 'living; and more than I have said before I cannot. 'But if it be his Majesties pleasure, I am ready to 'suffer whatsoever his Majesty will have inflicted upon 'me. Yet this I must tell you by the way, that if I be 'put upon the Rack, I will accuse You, My Lord of 'Dorset, and none but yourself.' So they left him then without bringing him to the rack, and, it is thought he shall not be racked at all. He was said to have spoken much after the same manner once before unto My Lord Conway. . .

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Christ Coll. Yours
Septemb. 27. 1628. JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCCXLIV.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. News from Rochelle.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

SIR

I DID fear you would be deluded in Suffolk with

another gull of the relieving Rochelle; and I find it true by your Letter. But, alas, the business is much otherwise.

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For on Tuesday morning last Mr. Walter Montague came from the Fleet to Court with very ill and hopeless tidings; as that all or most of our Fire-Ships are, without effecting any thing, sunk by the French ordenance: the French King himself (who was there present with most of the flowre of the Nobility of France), making the two first shott at them, and so adventurous in the face of danger, that one was slain by our ordenance within three persons of him: that the quadruple strength which they have prepared against our Fleet by our giving them so much time, is such, as their works seem now altogether unfeisable: howsoever that the General, my Lord of Lindsey, is still willing to stay there, to wait a fitter opportunitie of a good westerly wind, which hitherto hath been much wanting unto them, and might for the time of the year be such a one as might give some advantage to us and disadvantage the enemy; but this he is willing to do, so that his Lordship may have a new Commission for it, and the Fleet be revictualled, the provisions being near spent; otherwise he desires to be remanded home.

Upon this Newes his Majesty is said to be much affected, and came from Hampton Court that night to

London to Denmark House, where the Council sit hard to resolve what is best to be done in this business; and some think they will be most inclinable of the two to call the Fleet home.

* * * * *

Christ Coll. Yours to be commanded
Octob. 18. 1628. JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCCXLV.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Further particulars of Rochelle.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

SIR

I HAVE not much to send you; the most whereof is but a distincter Relation of Mr Walter Montagues message. He was sent in a pinnace by my Lord Willoughby to acquaint his Majesty with the present state of the service and of the future hazard if they proceeded; namely that they must be supplied with a new provision of victuall, the former being almost spent. His Majesty is resolved to put all to the venture, hath caused twelve Ships to be pressed to carry them a month's provision, and hath dispatched the messenger back with a Letter written by his own hand that they should hazard for the relief of the Town even all his Ships; and that he purposed not to have it left *re infectâ*, whatsoe'er it cost him.

I cannot hear of above some two or three of our

Fire-Ships lost, if so many. They have had some intercourse with the Town since they came thither, two venturing out to come to our Ships, whereof one escaped, the other being taken was presently hanged. They were once resolved to have given up the Town, and stood to the King's mercy. Our Navy came thither but three days before the time appointed to yield it up; which as soon as they saw, beyond their expectation, they resolved anew to stand it out. Howsoever they are in great straights, weigh out their corn by the ounce, and feed upon hides. They were never relieved since they were blocked up; whatsoever message the Duke was going to tell the King, when the fatal knife struck him.

* * * * *

The King came on Thursday morning to Theobalds.

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Christ Coll. Yours
Octob. 25. JOSEPH MEAD.

LETTER CCCXLVI.

M^r. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The promotion of the Duke of Buckingham's friends. Rochelle.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

WORTHIE SIR ———

Our last Week's news from London of Octob. 24. was as followeth.

That on Monday night that week the Lord Marquisse Hamilton came to the Court, with his Lady * * * and it is said he shall forthwith be sworne Master of the Horse, and installed Knight of the Garter.

Sir Henry, the Duke bosom friend is sworn gentleman of the Privy Chamber in Sir William Croftes his place, who hath stood suspended therefrom any time this three yeare, ever since he spake against the Duke in Parliament; as likewise was Sir Ralph Clare, in whose place young Ashburnham the Duke's nephew is sworne. My Lord of Arundel is grown into great grace with the King, and hath resumed his lodging in Whitehall. But my Lord Treasurer is Dominus fac totum, unto whom the residue, they say, are but cyphers. He diverted the King from that sumptuous Funerall for the Duke, by telling him it would be but a shew of an hour; but if his Majestie would doe him true honour, lett him erect a Monument for him to remaine to all posteritie, which would not cost him halfe so much. But after the Duke's buriall, when the King putt my Lord Treasurer in mind of his owne project, and would needs have it presently go on; I would be loth, quoth my Lord Treasurer, to tell your Majestie what the world would say, not onely here, but all Christendom over, if you should erect a Monument for the Duke, before you sett one up for King James your father.

That two of the Dukes footmen are sworne the

King's footmen, and that the rest of the Duke's servants are to attend the Marquisse Hamilton, as mine author said he heard.

* * * * *

Christ Coll. Yours most ready
Novemb. 1. to be commanded

JOSEPH MEAD.

Postscript.

I saw a Letter just now, that Rochell was in treaty with the King, but upon honourable termes, as that Monsieur the King's brother remaines hostage in the Towne for the Commissioners that are gone out for that purpose, and that now the agents here for Rochell report the town is not driven to so new distresse as was said, but could yet hold out for some months. That though it be hoped this storm hath broken the French King's chaines and pallisadoes, and our Fleet in such a case might do somewhat, yet, it is certaine, the Lords of the Council haye commanded the Earl of Totnes master of the Ordenance to appoint clerks in the principal Ports of the West to take an account of all the munition they shall find remaining in the Fleet, and to putt the same in storehouses for his Ma^ties^ future service. So that it seems the Fleet is sent for and shortly expected.

LETTER CCCXLVII.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Misery and Loss of Rochelle: the punishment of Mr. Savage: &c.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

SIR

ILL news proves seldom false. The wofull misery and losse of Rochell you shall understand by the copie of a Letter written from our Fleet

"From the Island of St. George
aboard his Maties Ship the St. George
Octob. 30. 1628.

"The 15. of this October my Lord Generall gave order to shoot off a peice of Ordenance, and to put out a pennant in the foretopmasts head, to give sign for the leading Ships to weigh anchor and to fall on the enemie the third time: yet were we forced to lead the way in the St. George, having but 4½ fadome water, we went so neare. But then we tackt about at the flood, to linger for the leading ships, which at three foot flood came on; but did then as they did the second time, shooting off many pieces to small purpose; and the tide being at the lowest, after two hours fight, came all off again and nothing done.

"The 19. of this month there was called a Counsell of Warre, and a new way propounded for attempting the enemie, which was to goe side by side

by the enemie with the men of warre, and to send in a mine-ship to the pallisado. But God, who disposeth of all things, had otherwise determined of the event.

"For on the 20th day in the afternoone (which night we thought to have gone on it) there came news that Rochell had surrendered in the morning, and that the King was entred with two regiments of souldiers, promising them their consciences, lives, and estates, but would raze the walls, &c. That all the Frenchmen in our Fleet should within eight days come in, or be held as traitours, save Duke Soubieze, Count Mapparece, and the old Duchesse of Rohan Monsr Soubieze's mother, (which two were within Rochell) to whom he would not give any quarter at all.

"There dyed in this Siege of famine sixteen thousand persons. The rest endured a wonderfull miserie, most of their food being hides, leather, and old gloves. Other provisions, which were scarce, were at an excessive rate; as that, before this great misery came, a bushell of wheat was at £120; A quarter of mutton at £5. odd money; a pound of bread at 20s; a pound of butter at 30s; an egge at 8s; an ounce of sugar at 2s 6d; a dryed fish at 20s; a pint of wine at 20s; a pound of grapes at 3s; a pint of milk at 30s. It is also sayd, that, through the famine, young maids of fourteen or sixteen years did look like women of an 100 years old. Yea the famine was such that the

poor people would cutt off the buttocks of the dead that lay in the church yard unburied, to feed upon. All the English that came out thence, look like anatomies. They lived two months with nothing but cow hides and goats skins boiled; dogs, cats, mice, rats, and frogs, all spent before. And this with a world of misery did they suffer in hope of our relieving them.

"The 28. of this month, all day and night, we had an exceeding great storm, whereby three or four of our small men of war were cast away, and many more had their masts cut off by the board. Yet this day is a fair wind, but our ships are not yet ready to come away. If the wind hold we hope shortly to come; which God grant; for we have great want of beer, and of other provisions throughout the whole Fleet. Most part of the Fleet hath drunk water or beverage this fortnight, and some this month. &c."

Thus far that Letter.

This news was not known till this day sennight, when it filled the Exchange. I hear other particulars both of their miseries and their yielding; as of thousands that died upon eating fresh victuals; and that they yielded to the King's mercy, who, among other things, has granted them the exercise of their religion without the Towne two miles off, but not within. But these things I shall be best able to inform you of by my next.

Now for other matters we had partly last week and partly since. That on yesterday was sen'night part of Savage's censure was executed; he being whipt from the Fleet to Westminster Palace, where he stood in the pillory, had one ear nailed and cutt of close to his head, and as our latest Letters say, his nostrils also slit; his cheeks branded with F.A. for false accuser. For he not only counterfeited divers Lords, but accused my Lords of Essex, Lincoln, Warwick, Say, and three or four others that they had hired him to kill the Duke, and after acknowledged he had abused them. Being thus returned to the Fleet, he should on Wednesday have been whipt to the Exchange in London; and there on the pillorie to have lost the other ear, &c. but his sorrow was so great, that it is sayd he dyed of greife on Monday or Tuesday, and so avoyded it. His name was Heron.

The same Friday was sen'night also were censured in the Starre Chamber Alexander Gill bachelor of divinity at Oxford, and Usher in Paule's Schoole under his own father, and one M^r^ Grimkin, an Oxonian also, of his acquaintance. Gill, for saying in Trinity College cellar in Oxford [that our King was fitter to stand in a Cheap-Side shop, with an apron before him and say 'What lack yee'! than to govern a kingdome][a] 2. That the Duke was gone downe to Hell to meet King James there. 3. For drinking a health to Fel-

[a] "[ ] I pray strike out these words afore you lett any body read the lettre."

ton, saying he was sorry Felton had deprived him of the honour of doing that brave act. The words concerning his Majesty were not read in open Court, but only those concerning the Duke and Felton; nor had my author heard any more laid to his charge; but this was enough. His censure was to be degraded both from his ministry and degrees taken in the University; to lose one ear at London, and the other at Oxford; and to be fined at £2000. What Grimkin's charge was my author knew not, but for writing somewhat in prose or verse to the same end, or dictating it.

Mr Burton, Mr Prinne of Lincolns Inn, and some others having been long in the High Commission for printing of unlicensed Books against Arminianism, Mr Prinne on Friday was sen'night, even when he was ready for sentence, presented My Lord of London with a prohibition for the Judges of the Common Pleas, obtained the day before, notwithstanding the Cheife Justice Richardson opposed it all he could, but was over-ruled by his three colleagues; which I hear since, the Bishops took so ill, that they complained thereof to his Majesty, and were on Wednesday afternoon together with the Judges to be before the King about it.

* * * * *

Yours most ready to
be commanded
JOSEPH MEAD.

Christ Coll.
Novemb. 15. 1628.

I send you Gower Poemes,
an old book, not easie to be gotten
and of no great price, viz. 4^{s}. 6^{d}.
It is fittest for a Gentleman's study.

LETTER CCCXLVIII.

M^{r}. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. The Arraignment of Felton.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

WORTHIE SIR

WHAT is related in the inclosed of Feltons Arraignment you will, I doubt not, read; but my author then writing the morning after, seems not to have received so perfect an information as perhaps he hath since. I have seen three or four other relations by Letter, much what agreeing in substance, but the most perfect from a Gentleman of Lincoln's Inne is as followeth.

That there had been a rumour a sennight before, that Felton was speedily to come to his tryall, but there was annexed to that report that the Judges should sitt at the Tower, and a special Commission be granted to that purpose: the day of the arraignment to be on the Tuesday after the Terme end, which was Tuesday this week. But on Wednesday last week, when no man expected any such thing, was Felton before

break of day conveyed from the Tower to the Gate-house, and between six and seven a clock that morning, attended by the Sherif and many armed men, brought to the King's Bench bar. His Indictment being read, he confessed the fact, but added that he did it not maliciously, but out of an intent for the good of his Country.

Then Mr. Attorney made a speech in aggravation of the murder, shewing the heinousness thereof both in respect of the quality of the person killed, and also of the manner of doing it. That he had slain so dear and near a subject of the Kings, so great a counsellor of State, the General of his Majesties forces, Admiral of the Seas, &c. and exaggerating the manner of the deed, he produced the knife in open Court, comparing him to Ravilliak (at the sight of the knife some observed the tears in Felton's eyes) and accordingly desired that upon his owne confession judgement of Death might pass upon the malefactor.

Then Justice Jones, being the ancient on the bench, asked Felton what he could say why judgement of Death should not be given against him; without impannelling either Jury, or examining witnesses. Felton answered, I am sorry both that I have shed the blood of a man who is the image of God, and taken away the life of so near a subject to the King as Mr. Attorney hath related: and, lifting up his arm, 'This

is the instrument,' sayd he, 'which did the fact, which I desire may be first cutt off, and the rest of my carkasse I willingly yield to this Court, to be disposed of as You and his Majesty shall please.'

Judge Jones answered, that by the law, if a man strike in the Kings palace, he is to loose his hand. &c. But it was not his Majesty's pleasure that they should proceed against him in any other way than that which the law had ordinarily determined in such cases. You shall therefore, saith he, have the law and no more, and so gave sentence he should be hanged untill he were dead; but named neither time nor place. Sentence being pronounced, Felton made obeisance, and thanked his Lordship; but said My Lord, 'this will 'not be all Your punishment, for unless You look to 'it, and prepare Yourself before your death, there is a 'far worse to follow afterward.' 'I know it, my Lord,' quoth Felton, 'and know also that I have a Saviour, 'whose blood, I doubt not, but upon my repentance, 'shall wash away, as all my other sins, so, this also. 'I have,' says he, 'already made my peace with God, 'and am prepared for death.'

Thus that relation.

But there is difference, writes another friend, in the reports of Felton's words which had reference to Mr. Attorney's speech. A lawyer that was there told me (saith my author) that the words were he was sorry he

had taken so faithful a servant from so gracious a lord. But another lawyer (who affirms he was within two men of Felton) saith they were thus, that he was sorry if he had taken away so faithfull a servant to his Majesty as Mr. Attorney had related.

His execution was the next day, on Friday in the morning as I think, though some say Saturday. I saw a short relation thereof in a Letter last night, but the day was not named. The Letter was from a Minister in the City, namely as followeth:

"Mr. Felton, after he was condemned, wept most bitterly for 'that Sin' as he called it, 'that great Sin.' The Divines that were with him had much adoe, the day before his death[a], to save him from despaire. At Tyburn where he was hanged he told them that last night he was affrighted with death, but he thanked God, it was past. He prayed all the people not to justifie his fact, but take notice that it was onely the instigation of the Devill. That it had been no warrant to him if the grievances had been true, &c. &c. He much magnified the King's mercy that he died so easy a death, and had so long a time of repentance; and the good Duchess of Buckingham that she had forgiven him so bloody a fact. He testified much repentance and faith, and so took his death very stoutly and patiently. He was very long a dying. His body is gone to Portesmouth, there to be hanged in chains."

[a] "By this it should seeme he suffered not till Saturday."

Thus that Letter. When I have a more full relation you shall know it.

* * * * *

Christ Coll. Yours to be commanded
Decemb. 6. JO: MEAD.

LETTER CCCXLIX.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Felton's penitence.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

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FELTON the day before he suffered had the Lord's supper administered unto him. His penitence and behaviour therein was such that Dr Sutton who was appointed to do him that office, said it amazed him, and that he could scarce believe that ever such a man had been a souldier. That there was no need to move him to more contrition, but to lift him up from danger of despaire, &c. That afternoon, which was Friday, by his Majesty's leave were the Earl and Countess of Arundell, and the Lord Matravers their son, with him, he being of their bloud. They brought him money to give away, and a winding sheet. But the last as it seems in vaine

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Christ Coll.
Decemb. 13. 1628.

LETTER CCCL.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Retrenchments at Court. Sir Francis Cottington's departure for Spain.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

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THE Tables in Court are reduced to Queen Elizabeth's number; and likewise the King's pensions are to be conformable to hers. As, for example, whereas the Gentlemen Pensioners allowance was augmented from £50 in Queen Elizabeth's time to an £100 in King James his reign, now under King Charles they are drawn back to £50. So likewise the Gentlemen of the Chapel from their £40. of King James's time to their £30 of Queen Elizabeth's time *et sic de cæteris.* By which means, one told my author, his Majesty would save £50,000 per annum. And although they were thus curbed, yet would it be better for the generality of Pensioners, in case they might be payd as currently as they were in Queen Elizabeth's days, when nothing upon earth was surer than Chequer pay. And for a conclusion, my author sayth he had heard wise men say, that whereas his Majesty's pensions were now risen to above £70,000 a year, Queen Elizabeth's never came to above £17,000. The Courtiers some say are afraid, yet for all this they shall be put

to board wages, the speech only whereof discontents them.

Sir Francis Cottington went towards Portsmouth on his Ambassage on Monday that week, and was now at length really gone, maugre the French Ambassador; who, with all the strength he had, opposed his journey, and used the Queen's assistance therein: so that when Sir Francis Cottington came to take his leave of her, and to know what service her Majesty would be pleased to command him to her Sister, answered him as I told You in my last[a]. And then when she could not prevail with his Majesty to cross the Ambassage, she shed tears in anger.

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Christ Coll.
Nov. 7th 1629.

LETTER CCCLI.

Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. A Court Anecdote.

[MS. HARL. 390. *Orig.*]

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On Friday last week, his Majesty reconciled my Lord of Holland and my Lord of Carlisle, and with his hands joined theirs, with this protestation, that

[a] "That she would have nothing to do with Spain, nor with any person there."

whosoever should go about to dissolve that knot, he himself would be his enemy. Besides, my Lady of Carlisle is restored to the Queen's bedchamber, and into her favour; and one Mistress Smyth (a servant of her Majesty's and one that by her lewd tongue had kindled these coals of discord) turned out of service; many of the Queen's goods being found to be purloined and concealed among hers: beside that she had been famous both in France and here, for other than vertuous qualities.

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Christ Coll.
30 Jan. 1629.

LETTER CCCLII.

The Queen to Prince Charles, probably written about the year 1638.

[HARL. MS. 6988. *art.* 54. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE QUEEN'S HAND.]

*** This short Letter, with the two still shorter Notes from the Prince which follow it, may perhaps by some readers be thought too trifling for insertion here. But the Queen's is one of very few specimens which now remain of her English composition: and the Prince's little Letters will at least afford an opportunity of introducing the Code of Instructions for his conduct in life, which the Earl, afterwards Marquis of Newcastle, his governor, who is so much noticed in these Letters, drew up and presented to him in his earliest years.

Lord Clarendon's detail of the Earl's qualifications as a Governor will not be misplaced here; and one part of it will account for the kind expressions which so frequently occur in King Charles's Letters to him contained in some of the subsequent pages.

The Marquis of Newcastle, says Lord Clarendon, "was a very fine

gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that, he was amorous in poetry, and musick, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could" afterwards "have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune, but Honour, and Ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him. He loved Monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the Church, as it was well constituted for the splendor and security of the Crown; and Religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both; without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace. He had a particular reverence for the person of the King, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the Prince, as he had the honour to be trusted with his education as Governour; for which Office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other qualifications" [a].

CHARLES j am sore that I most begin my first Letter with chiding you because j heere that you will not take phisike. I hope it was onlei for this day and that to morrowe you will doe it, for yf you will not j most come to you, and make you take it, for it is for your healthe. I have given order to mylord Newcastell to send mi worde to night whether you will or not, therfore j hope you will not give mi the paines to goe and so j rest

Your affectionat mother

To my deare
Sone the Prince.

HENRIETTE MARIE, R.

[a] Clarend. Hist. Rebell. edit. Oxf. 1706. vol. ii. p. 507.

LETTER CCCLIII.

Prince Charles to the Earl of Newcastle.

[HARL. MS. 6988. *art.* 57. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE PRINCE'S HAND, IN LINES RULED WITH A PENCIL ABOVE AND BELOW.]

*** This Note was probably written soon after the Queen's, to the contents of which it seems to have a waggish reference.

MY LORD

I WOULD not have you take too much Phisick: for it doth allwaies make me worse, and I think it will do the like with you. I ride every day, and am ready to follow any other directions from you. Make hast to returne to him that loves you.

CHARLES P.

To my Lord of New-castle.

LETTER CCCLIV.

Prince Charles to Lord Newcastle: with Thanks.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art* 55. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE PRINCE'S HAND.]

MY LORD

I THANK you for your New Years guift; I am very well pleasd with it, especially with the brass Statues. On Munday by three of the clock I shall be glad to meete you at Lambeth.

CHARLES.

For My Lord of New Castle.

THE EARL OF NEWCASTLE'S LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS TO PRINCE CHARLES FOR HIS STUDIES, CONDUCT, AND BEHAVIOUR.

[From a Copy preserved with the Royal Letters in the Harleian MS. 6988. art. 62.]

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS

"SINCE it pleased your most Gracious Father his sacred Majestie to think me worthy to be your Governor, I will justifie his Majesties choice; for, what I may want in abilities, I will make up with fidelity and duty to his Majesty, in diligence and service to You.

"Then for your education Sir, It is fitt you should have some languages, tho' I confess I woud rather have you study things then words, matter then language; for seldom a Critick in many languages hath time to study sense, for words; and at best he is or can be but a living dictionary. Besides I would not have you too studious, for too much contemplation spoiles action, and Virtue consists in that. What you read, I woud have it History and the best chosen Histories, that so you might compare the dead with the living; for the same humors is now as was then, there is no alteration but in names, and tho' you meet not with a Cæsar for Emperor of the whole world, yet he may have the same passions in him; and you are not to compare fortunes, so much as humors, witt, and judgement; and thus you shall see the excellency and errors both of Kings and subjects, and tho' you are young in years, yet living by your wading in all those times, be older in wisdom and judgement then Nature can afford any man to be without this help.

"For the Arts I wou'd have you know them so far as they are of use, and especially those that are most proper for war and use; but whensoever you are too studious, your contemplation will spoile your government, for you cannot be a good contemplative man and a good commonwealth's man; therefore take heed of too much book.

"Beware of too much devotion for a King, for one may be a good man but a bad King; and how many will History represente to you that in seeming to gain the kingdome of Heaven, have lost their owne; and the old saying is, that short prayers pierce the heaven's gates; but if you be not religious, and not only seeme so but be so, God will not prosper you; and if you have no reverence to him, why should your subjects have any to you. At the best you are accounted for your greatest honour his servant, his deputy, his anointed, and you owe as much reverence and duty to him as we owe to you; and why, nay justly may not he punishe you for want of reverence and service to Him, if you fail in it, as well as you to punish us: but this subject I leave to the right reverend father in God Lord Bishop of Chichester, your worthy tutor: your tutor, Sir, wherein you are most happy, since he hath no pedantry in him; his learning he makes right use of, neither to trouble himself with it or his friends;

readers men as well as books; and goes the next way to every thing that he should, and that is what he would, for his will is governed by that law: the purity of his witt, doth not spoile the serenity of his judgement; treavell'd, which you shall perceive by his wisdome and fashion more then by his relations; and in a word strives as much discreetly to hide the schollar in him, as other men's follies studies to shew it; and is a right gentleman, such a one as man should be.

"But Sir, to fallback again to your reverence at Prayers, so farr as concernes reason and your advantage is my duty to tell you; then I say Sr, were there no Heaven or Hell you shall see the disadvantage, for your government; if you have no reverence at prayers, what will the people have, think you? They go according to the example of the Prince; if they have none, then they have no obedience to God; then they will easily have none to your Highness; no obedience, no subjects; no subjects—then your power is off that side, and whether it be in one or more then that's King, and thus they will turn tables with you. Of the other side, if any be bible madd, over much burn't with fiery zeal, they may think it a service to God to destroy you and say the Spirit moved them and bring some example of a King with a hard name in the old Testament. Thus one way you may have a civil war; the other a private treason; and he that cares not for his own life is master of another man's.

"For Books thus much more, the greatest clerks are not the wisest men; and the greate troublers of the world, the greatest captains, were not the greatest schollars; neither have I known booke-wormes great statesmen; some have here to fore and some are now, but they study men more now then bookes, or else they woud prove but silly statesmen. For a meer schollar, there is nothing so simple for this world. The reason's plaine, for divinity teaches what we should be, not what we are; so doth moral philosophy; and many philosophicall Worlds and Utopia's schollars have made and fansied to themselves, such worlds as never was, is, or shall be; and then I dare say if they govern themselves by those rules what men should be, or not what they are, they will miss the cushion very much.

"But Sr, you are in your own disposition religious and not very apte to your booke, so you need no great labour to perswade you from the one, or long discourses to dissuade from the other.

"The things that I have discoursed to you most, is to be courteous and civil to every body; sett to, make difference of cabinges[a], and, believe it, the putting off of your hat and making a leg pleases more then reward or preservation, so much doth it take all kind of people. Then to speak well of every body, and when you hear people speak ill of others reprehend them and seeme to dislike it so much, as do not look of em so favourably for a few days after, and say something in favour of those that have been spoke

[a] So the MS.

against; for you may say some thing of every body to the best; the other which is railing, scorne, and jearing, is fitter for porters, watermen, and carmen, then for gentlemen; how much more then for a Prince, whose dislike is death, and kills any subject. Besides you may be sure the parties will hear of it and though they dare do nothing because they want power, nor say nothing for fear of being troubled, yet believe it S^r. they are traytors in their hearts to you, and of your owne making, and so are all their friends. Of the other side to speak well of them will be told too and that winns them as much; the other looses them; and this way you will get their hearts and then you have all they have, and more you cannot have. And how easy a way is this to have the people. To loose your dignity and sett by your state, I do not advise you to that, but the contrary: for what preserves you Kings more then Ceremony. The cloth of estates, the distance people are with you, great officers, heralds, drums, trumpeters, rich coaches, rich furniture for horses, guards, martialls men making room, disorders to be laboured by their staff of office, and crie "now the King comes;" I know these maskers the people sufficiently; I, even the wisest though he knew it and not accustomed to it, shall shake of his wisdom and shake for fear of it, for this is the mist is cast before us, and maskers the Common Wealth. Besides authority doth what it list, I mean power thats the stronger, though sometimes it shifts sides, therefore the King must know at what time to play the King, and when to qualifie it, but never put it of; for in all triumphs whatsoever or publick shewing your self, you cannot put upon you too much King; yet even there some times a hat or a smile in the right place will advantage you, but at other times you may do more, and civil speeches to people and short doth much win of them; and certainly S^r. civility cannot unprince you but much advantage you. To women you cannot be too civil, especially to great ones; what hurt were it to send them a dish from your table when they dine with some of your great Lords, and to drink their health? Certainly S^r. you can not loose by curtesy. I mean not you should be so familiar as to bring you to contempt, for I mean you should keepe your self up Prince still, and in all your actions, but I woud not have you so seared with Majestie as to think you are not of mankinde, nor suffer others or your self to flatter you so much. The incommodities to life and the sustaining of it, and the same things the meanest do, you must do the like or not live; these things when you are pleased to think of them will perswade you that are of the lump of man, and mortall, and the more you repeate these thoughts the better Prince you'll be, both to serve God and for distributive justice to your people; for being a Prince you ought rather to give Almighty God thanks for the advantage-ground you have of other people, then to be proud. I mean not by repeating your mortality to have a death's head sett always before you, or to cry every morning that you are mortall, for

I woud not have you fall into a divine melancholly, to be an anchorett, or a capuchin; or with a philosophicall discourse to be a Diogenes in your tubb; but to temper your self so by this means, as to be a brave, noble, and just King and make your name immortall by your brave acts abroad and your un spotted justice at home, qualified by your well temper and mercy."

LETTER CCCLV.

The King to the Earl of Newcastle; on the growth of the Rebellion.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 69. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

*** Although the Earl of Newcastle had, before the breaking out of the rebellion, retired from his Trust and from the Court, to decline, as Lord Clarendon expresses it, the insupportable envy which the powerful faction had contracted against him, yet the King was no sooner necessitated to possess himself of some place of strength, and to raise some force for his defence, but the Earl obeyed his first call; and with great expedition and dexterity seized upon Newcastle, when till then there was not one Port-Town in England that avowed its obedience to the King. He then raised such regiments of horse and foot as seemed necessary for the state of affairs, and with the concurrence of his numerous allies, kept the Northern parts, Clarendon says without any, but certainly with a trifling charge to the King[a].

NEW CASTEL

THIS is to tell you that this Rebellion is growen to that height, that I must not looke what opinion men ar who at this tyme ar willing and able to serve me. Therfore I doe not only permitt, but command you, to make use of all my loving subjects services, without examining ther Contienses (more then there loyalty to me) as you shall fynde most to conduce to the uphoulding of my just Regall Power. So I rest

Your most asseured faithfull

Shrewsbury 23 Sep. 1642. frend

CHARLES R.

[a] See Clarend. ut supr. p. 509.

LETTER CCCLVI.

King Charles the First to the Earl of Newcastle: with thanks, and announcing the sending of Money to him.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 71. *Orig.*]

NEW CASTELL

YOUR endeavors are so really faithfull and lucky in my service, that (though I pretend not to thank you in words, yet) I cannot but tell you of, (though I can not all) the sence I have of them, when, as now, I have tyme and oportunitie for it. This bearer will tell you of the defeate the Rebells have gotten, which referring to him, I will tell you of fower thousand pounds I have sent you, for which doe not too much thanke me, for, it may be, you should not have had it if I had knowen how it might have been speedily and safely conveyd hither; yet I thinke very well employed. That I have desyred of you is to make what hast you can to cum to joine your forses with myne, for I suppose and hope that my Wife will be cum to you before you can be reddy to march. I wryt this that ye may be reddy when she comes, or if (as it is possible) she should take another course, you might make hast without her; the certainty of which (I mean my Wife's journie) you will know within

few dayes or howers after the returne of this bearer. This is all for this tyme. So I rest

Your most assured constant

Oxford 2: No: frend

1642 CHARLES R.

LETTER CCCLVII.

The King to the Earl of Newcastle. More thanks: and directing movements for his Forces.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 74. *Orig.*]

NEW CASTELL

THE services I have receaved from you hath beene so eminent, and is lykely to have so great an influence upon all my Affaires, that I need not tell you that I shall never forgett it, but alwais looke upon you as a principall instrument in keeping the Crowne upon my heade. The business of Yorkshire I account almost done, only I put you in mynde to make your self maister (according as formerly but breefly I have written to you) of all the Armes there, to aske them from the Trained bands by severall divisions, to desyre them from the rest of my well affected subjects, and to take them from the ill affected, espetially Leedes and Halifax. I have no greater want then of Armes, nor meanes to supply myselfe then from you, and therfor I recomend to you the getting as manie as you

can from all the parts you may, and even from New Castell (whether[a] for futur supplyes I have ordered great store to bee sent) into some safe Magazin there. My next greatest want is dragooners, which I want the more, because it is the Rebelles (indeed only) strenth, theire foot having no inclination to winter marches; wherfore if you could there horse and arme 500, and send these presently to mee, they might be of very great advantage. You have lykewais neighbours in Darbishire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, who (for theire good service) stand now in great need of your assistance, which I shall desire you to give, as far as will sut[b] with my other service; and that you may doe it the more effectually, I have given order that a Commission bee drawen for you to command all the Countries beyond Trent. Lastly I will put you in mynde that some of your forces extended to Nottingham and Newarke would make Lincolneshire extreamly right, and restore those good subjects of myne who ar now banished. So, desyring to heare often from you I rest

Your most asseured constant frend

Oxford 15: De: 1642. CHARLES R.

[a] whither. [b] suit.

LETTER CCCLVIII.

The King to the Earl of Newcastle: for obtaining Arms.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 75. *Orig.*]

NEW CASTELL

I THANKE you for your Letter of the 25: De: and in particular for sending for my Wyfe with that earnestness that ye have done. I give you free leave to disobey my warants for issewing Armes; for what I have done in that, was in supposition that you had anew for your selfe and your frends; but having not, I confess Charity begins at home. I wonder to heare you say that there ar few Armes in that Country, for when I was there, to my knowledge there was twelve thousand of the Trained Bands (except some few Hotham gott into Hull) compleat, besydes those of particular men; therfor on God's name inquyre what is becume of them, and make use of them all; for those who ar well affected will willingly give, or lend them, to you; and those who ar not, make no bones to take them from them. As for your Invitations to severall places; doe therein as you shall fynd best for my service, without looking to the little commodities of particular persons or Sheeres; for though I may propose manie things to your consideration, yet I shall not impose anie thing upon you; as for example, I heare Gen. King is come; now I desyre You to make use of him in your Army, I am sure you have not good

Commanders to spare, no more than Armes, yet, I confess there may be such reasons that may make this desyre of myne impossible. I know Newport hes that place he expected; to which I will only say that I wishe you an abler and —— in his roome. You have had a litle tryall alreddy; yet (according to my owen rule) I doe not command, but earnestlie desyre you to see if you can comply with this my desyre. My conclusion is to asseure you that I doe not only trust in your fidelity, which (as Charles Chester said of Q. Elizabeth's falts) all the World takes on, but lykewais to your judgement in my Affairs; and ye may be confident that nothing shall alter me from being

Your most asseured constant frend

Oxford 29: De: CHARLES R.

1642.

I promis you, to be as wary of a Treatie, as you can desyre. I pray you lett me heere from you as oft as ye may.

LETTER CCCLIX.

The King to Prince Maurice proposing a marriage for him with the Lady whom his brother had refused.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 88. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

*** The Marriage proposed in this Letter appears to have formed a part of the Negociation previous to the Count de Harcourt's embassy to England, in the early part of the administration of Cardinal Mazarine. But it took no effect. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice both died unmarried.

NEPUEU MAURICE.

THOUGH Mars be now most in voag, yet Hymen may bee some tymes remembred. The matter is this, your Mother and I have beene somewhat engaged concerning a Mariage betwine your brother Rupert and Mademoisell de Rohan, and now her frends press your brother to a positive answer which I fynde him resolved to give negatively; therfore I have thought fitt to know if you will not by your engagement take your brother hansomly off. I have not tyme to argue the matter, but, to show my judgement, I asseure you that if my sone James wer of a fitt age, I would want of my will but he should have her; and indeed the totall rejecting of this Allyance may doe us some prejudice, whether ye looke to thease or the German affaires; the performance of which is not expected untill the tymes shall be reasonably setled: though I desyre you to give me an answer assoone as you can (having now occasion to send to France), because delayes ar, some tymes, as ill taken as denyalls. So hoping and praying God for good newes from you, I rest

Your loving Oncle and faithful frend

Oxford 4: July 1643. CHARLES R.

For my Nepueu Prince Maurice.

LETTER CCCLX.

The King to the Earl of Newcastle, entreating him not to leave his service.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 104. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

NEW CASTELL

By your last dispach I perceave that the Scots are not the only, or (it may be said) the least ennemies you contest withall at this tyme; wherefore I must tell you in a word (for I have not tyme to make longe discourses) you must as much contem the impertinent or malitius tonges and pennes of those that ar or professe to be your frends, as well as you dispyse the sword of an equall ennemie. The trewth is, if eather you, or my L. Ethen leave my service, I am sure (at least) all the Northe (I speake not all I thinke) is lost. Remember all courage is not in fyghting; constancy in a good cause being the cheefe, and the dispysing of slanderus tonges and pennes being not the least ingredient. I'l say no more, but, let nothing disharten you from doing that which is most for your owen honnor, and good of (the thought of leaving your charge being against booke)

Your most asseured reall

Oxford 5. Ap: 1644 constant frend

CHARLES R.

LETTER CCCLXI.

The King to the Earl of Newcastle: promising him assistance against the Scots invasion.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 106. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

NEW CASTELL

You need not doute of the care I have of the North and in particular of your assistance against the Scots invasion, but you must consider that wee, lyke you, cannot doe alwais what we would; besydes our taske is not litle that we strugle with, in which if we faile, all you can doe will be to little purpose; wherfor You may be asseured of all assistance from hence that may be, without laing our selfes open to eminent danger, the particulars of which I refer you to my L. Digby and rest

Your most asseured reall

Oxford 11. Ap: 1644. constant frend

CHARLES R.

LETTER CCCLXII.

Oliver Cromwell to Colonel Valentine Walton his brother in law, announcing the death of Col. Walton's eldest son.

[FROM THE *Original*, FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. LANGTON OF WELBECK STREET.

*** The following Letter is confined to a single occurrence at the battle of Marston Moor; the death of Cromwell's nephew.

Colonel Walton, to whom it is addressed, was of the family of the Waltons or Wautons, of Great Stoughton in Huntingdonshire, and married Margaret the sister of Oliver Cromwell some time before the year 1620. By her he had several children. George who died an infant, Valentine born in 1623, another George, Robert, and Anne, are particularly specified.

Noble, in his Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell, mentions George Walton as a son of the Colonel, wounded in 1644 whilst fighting for the Parliament; and who, he says, was an assessor in Essex in 1647. From this Letter, however, it appears that the son who received the shot in 1644 at the battle of Marston Moor was the eldest at that time; probably Valentine; and that he was killed.

Colonel Walton himself, was a republican of the most rigid stamp; he signed the death-warrant of King Charles the First. The consequences as may be supposed, were ruinous to him at the Restoration. The estates which his alliance with the Protector had enabled him, during the troubles, to add to his patrimony, were, in course, confiscated. He fled at first to Hanau in Germany, where he became a burgess: but, fearing he should be given up, he went to Flanders and there lived in privacy, under a borrowed name, till 1661, when he died of fear, anxiety, and disappointment.

DEERE SIR

It's our duty to sympathize in all mercyes; that wee praise the Lord together, in chastisements or tryalls, that soe wee may sorrowe together. Truly England, and the Church of God, hath had a great favor from the Lord in this great victorie given unto us, such as the like never was since this War begunn. It had all the evidences of an absolute Victorie obtained by the Lord's blessinge upon the godly partye principally. Wee never charged but wee routed the enimie. The lefte Winge which I commanded, being our owne horse, saving a few Scottes in our reere, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. Wee charged their Regiments of foote with our horse [and] routed all wee charged. The parti-

culars I cannot relate now: but I believe of twenty thousand, the Prince hath not four thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God.

Sir, God hath taken away your eldest sonn by a cannon shott. Itt brake his legge. Wee were necessitated to have itt cutt off, wherof hee died.

Sir you know my tryalls this way, but the Lord supported mee with this, that the Lord tooke him into the happinesse wee all pant after and live for. There is your precious child, full of glory, to know sinn nor sorrow any more. Hee was a gallant younge man, exceedinge gracious. God give you his comfort. Before his death hee was soe full of comfort, that to Franke Russell and my selfe hee could not expresse it, itt was soe great above his paine. This he sayd to us. Indeed itt was admirable. A little after hee sayd, one thinge lay upon his spirit; I asked him what that was; hee told mee that it was that God had not suffered him to be noe more the executioner of his enemies. Att his fall, his horse beinge killed with the bullett and as I am informed three horses more, I am told hee bid them open to the right and left, that hee might see the rogues runn. Truly hee was exceedingly beloved in the Armie of all that knew him. But few knew him; for hee was a precious younge man, fitt for God. You have cause to blesse the Lord. Hee is a glorious Sainct in heaven, wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoyce. Lett this drinke up your sorrowe. Seinge theise are not fayned words

to comfort you; but the thing is soe real and undoubted a truth, You may doe all thinges by the strength of Christ. Seeke that, and you shall easily beare your tryall. Lett this publike mercy to the Church of God make you to forgett your private sorrowe. The Lord be your strength; soe prayes

Your truly faythfull and lovinge brother.

July 5th 1644. OLIVER CROMWELL.

My love to your daughter and my cozen Perceval, sister Desbrowe, and all freinds with you.

LETTER CCCLXIII.

The King to the Marquis of Newcastle[a], *in final testimony of his Services.*

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 107. *Orig.*]

*** Lord Clarendon speaking of the fight at Marston Moor, July 2d. 1644, says, "They who most exactly describe that unfortunate battle and more unfortunate abandoning that whole country, by Prince Ruperts hasty departure with all his troops, and the Marquis of Newcastle's as hasty departure to the sea-side, and taking ship and transporting himself out of the kingdom, and all the ill consequences thereupon, give so ill an account of any conduct or discretion in the managery of that affair, that as I can take no pleasure in writing of it, so posterity would receive little pleasure or benefit in the most particular relation of it."

The two Generals, "as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, both sent a messenger to each other almost at the same time; the one 'that he was resolved, that morning, to march away with his horse, and as 'many foot as he had left;' and the other, 'that he would, in that instant, 'repair to the sea-side, and transport himself beyond the seas;' both which

[a] The Earl of Newcastle was advanced to the dignity of Marquis by Letters Patent bearing date at Oxford 27th Oct. 19 Cha. I. See Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 421.

they immediately performed: the Marquis making haste to Scarborough, there embarked in a poor vessel, and arrived at Hamburgh: the Prince, with his army, begun his march the same morning towards Chester. And so York was left to the discretion of Sir Thomas Glemham, the governour thereof, to do as he thought fit; being in a condition only to deliver it up with more decency, not to defend it against an enemy that would require it."

In another page he says, "The strange manner of the Prince's coming, and, undeliberated, throwing himself and all the King's troops into that sudden and unnecessary engagement, by which all the force the Marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserved, was in a moment cast away and destroyed, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious actions might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future action"[a].

The benevolence of the King's mind led him a short time afterwards to write the following Letter to the Marquis. Past services with him were not effaced by present misfortune. The Marquis, during the ensuing years, till the Restoration, lived abroad in great necessity. Where he was when this Letter was addressed to him does not appear.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councellor Wee greete you well. The misfortune of our Forces in the North wee know is ressented as sadly by you as the present hazard of the losse of soe considerable a porcion of this our Kingdom deserves: which also affects us the more, because in that losse so great a proporcion fals upon your self; whose loyalty and eminent merit we have ever held, and shall still, in a very high degree of our royall esteeme. And albeit the distracted condition of our Affaires and Kingdom will not afford us meanes at this present to comfort you in your sufferings, yet we shall ever reteyne soe gracious a memory of your merit, as

[a] Clarend. Hist. Rebel. edit. Oxf. 1807. vol. II. pp. 764, 757, 768.

when it shall please God in mercy to restore us to peace, it shalbe one of our principall endeavours to consider how to recompense those that have with soe great affection and courage as yourself assisted us in the time of our greatest necessity and troubles. And in the meane time if there be any thing wherein we may expresse the reality of our good intentions to you, or the value we have of your person, we shall most readily doe it upon any occasion that shalbe ministred. And soe we bid you very heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Oxford the 28th day of November 1644.

By his Mats command

EDW. NICHOLAS.

To our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councell: William Marquis of Newcastle.

LETTER CCCLXIV.

Arthur Lord Capel and Sir Charles Lucas to Lord Fairfax, complaining of the ill usage of their men taken prisoners.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 1519. *Orig.*]

MY LORD

WEE are informed by divers of our people both prisoners and others that those people of ours ware rudely stript and wounded, after they ware taken Yesterday. Wee assure you our usadge to yours have

been farre more civile, as your owne men can justefy. Wee desire to knowe howe you will proceede for the future, and further wee give you notice that, since our last to you, wee have found divers bulletts which ware chawd in our wounded men, and in somme of the prisoners musketts that ware taken.

Your servants

ARTHUR CAPEL.

For the Lord Firefax. CHARLES LUCAS.

LETTER CCCLXV.

Oliver Cromwell to William Lenthall Esq^r. Speaker of the House of Commons, giving an Account of the Battle of Naseby.

[MS. HARL. 7502. *art.* 5. *Orig.*]

*** This, and the two letters which follow it, want little of Introduction. They comprise the official Communications sent from the Parliament Army, announcing the Victory at Naseby. A Victory which destroyed Charles's last hope of prevailing over the Parliament by Arms. So sensible was the King himself of this, that a month afterwards he wrote that memorable Letter to the Prince his son from Brecknock, which Lord Clarendon has printed, beginning "Charles, It is very fit for me now to prepare for the Worst," the original of which is also in the Museum Collection.

SIR

BEINGE commanded by you to this service, I thinke my selfe bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us. Wee marched yesterday after the Kinge whoe went before us from Da-

ventree to Haverbrowe[a], and quartered about six miles from him. This day wee marched towards him. Hee drew out to meete us. Both Armies engaged. Wee, after three howers fight, very doubtfull, att last routed his Armie, killed and tooke about five thousand, very many officers, but of what quallitye wee yet know not. Wee tooke alsoe about two hundred carrages, all hee had, and all his gunnes, being twelve in number, whereof two were demie-cannon, two demie culveringes, and (I thinke) the rest sacers. Wee persued the enimie from three miles short of Haverb.[a] to nine beyond, even to sight of Leic[r] whether the Kinge fled. Sir this is non other but the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glorie, wher in none are to share with him. The Generall has served you with all faythfullness and honor, and the best commendations I can give him is that I dare say hee attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himselfe; which is an honest and a thrivinge way, and yett as much for bravery may bee given to him in this action as to a man. Honest men served you faythfully in this action. Sir they are trusty. I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. I wish this action may begett thankfulnesse and humilitye in all that are concerned in itt. Hee that venters his life for the libertye of his countrie, I wish hee trust God for the libertye of his conscience

[a] Harborough.

and you for the libertye hee fights for. In this hee rests, whoe is

June 14th 1645 your most humble servant
Haverbrowe. OLIVER CROMWELL.

For the Honble William Lenthall
Speaker of Commons-House of Parliament,
Theise.

LETTER CCCLXVI.

Sir Thomas Fairfax to William Lenthall Esqr. after the Battle of Naseby.

[MS. HARL. 7502. *art.* 3. *Orig.*]

MR. SPEAKER ———

BESIDES the General Account I have alreadie given by one of my servants whom I sent upp to London yesterday, I thought fitt to send this bearer Mr Bores whoe may more particularlie informe you concerneinge the abundant goodness of God to this Armie and the whole Kingdome in the late Victorie obteyned att Naseby feilde. The whole body of theire foote taken and slaine. Such a list of the prisoners [as] could bee made upp in this short time I have sent. The horse all quitted the Feilde, and were pursued within three miles of Leicester. Theire Amunition, Ordnance, and Carriages, all taken: among which there were two demy cannons, a whole culverin, and a morter peice, besides lesser peeces. We intend to move to Leicester as soone as wee have taken order with our prisoners and wounded men. All that I desire, is, that the honor of this greate and never to bee forgotten mercie may be given to God, in an extraor-

dinary day of thanksgiveinge; and that it may be improved to the good of his Churche and this Kingdome: which shall be faithfullie endevoured by S^r

Y^r most humble

Harborough servant

June 15, 1645 THO. FAIRFAX.

Some Irish are among the presoners as I am informed. I have not time to make Inquiry into it; I desire they may be proceeded against above, according to Ordnance of Parliament.

Major General Skippon was shott throughe his side, but notwithstandinge hee continued in the feild with great resolution; and when I desired him to goe off the feild, hee answered hee would not goe soe long as a man would stand, still doinge his office as a valiant and wise commander. Alsoe Col. Butler and Col. Ireton uppon theire first charge were both dangerouslie wounded, behaving themselves very galantlie. If I could enter into perticulers, much might bee spoaken of the resolucion and courage of many Commanders, both horse and foote, in this dayes service.

" To the ho^ble W^m. Lenthall Esq^r. Speaker of the ho. the House of Comons.

LETTER CCCLXVII.

Har. Leighton and Tho. Herbert to William Lenthall, Esq^r. from Naseby field.

[MS. HARL. 7502. fol. 9. *Orig.*]

HONOURABLE SIR

THIS morning by day breake wee marcht out [of]

Guilsburro after the enemy. After an houres march we discovered their horse drawne up at Sybbertoft, three myles this side Harborough. An houre after, their foot appeard. This was about eight in the morning. By ten we were disposed into a batallia on both sides. Both sides with mighty shoutes exprest a hearty desire of fighting. Having for our parts recomended our cause to Gods protection, and received the word which was "*God our Strength*," theirs "*Queen Mary*," our forlorne hopes begun the plo[a] whiles both sides labourd for the hill and wynd, which in conclusyon [was] as it were equally divided. Our forlorne hope gave back, and their right wing of horse fell upon our left with such gallantry that ours were imediatly rowted. Above a thousand ran along with them. But such was the courage and diligence of the right wing backt with the foot, that they not only beat back the enemy from the Traine, but fell in with their foot, and after two houres dispute won all their feild peeces (of w^{ch} some are cannon) most of their baggage, morter peeces, boates, three thousand armes, much powder, match, &c. and nigh four thousand prisners. Their nomber was about twelve thousand. Some six hundred slayne. Many comanders of note. The others not above a hundred. Our horse are still in pursuit, and have taken many of theirs. The standard is ours; the King's waggon; and many La-

[a] sic in orig.

dyes. God Almighty give us thanckfull hearts for this great Victory: the most absolute as yet obteyned. The Gen. Leif^t Gen. Cromwell and Major Gen. Skippon (who is shott in the side, but not dangerous) did beyond expression gallantly. So did all our other comanders and soldiers. We have lost but two Captains. Tho' this come late, be pleased to accept it from

Your honors most humble

Naezby wher the fight was this Satterday 1 Junij 1645 servants

HAR. LEIGHTON.

THO. HERBERT.

Capt. Potter is dangerously wounded: but hopes of his recovery. So is Capt. Cook.

" To the honourable William Lenthall Esq^r.
Speaker to the House of Commons.
hast.

LETTER CCCLXVIII.

King Charles to the Earl of Glamorgan: pleased at the Earl's departure for Ireland: and professes himself not disheartened.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 112. ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND-WRITING.]

Hereford 23 June 1645.

GLAMORGAN

I AM glad to hear that you are gone to Irland, and asseure you that as my selfe is nowais disheartned by

our late misfortune, so nether this Country; for I could not have expected more from them then they have now freely undertaken, though I had come hither absolute victorius; which makes me hope well of the neighbouring Sheeres; so that (by the grace of God) I hope shortly to recover my late losse, with advantage, if such succours come to me from that Kingdome which I have reason to expect: but the circumstance of tyme is that of the greatest consequence, being that which now is cheefliest and earnestliest recommended to you by

Your most asseured, reall,
constant frend
CHARLES R.

LETTER CCCLXIX.

King Charles the First to Secretary Nicholas, concerning the surrender of Bristol by Prince Rupert, with Inclosures.

[FROM THE EVELYN PAPERS AT WOTTON IN SURREY. *Orig.*]

*** Prince Rupert surrendered the Town and Fort of Bristol to Sir Thomas Fairfax Sept. 11th. 1645.

"When the King came to Ragland," says Lord Clarendon "he received the terrible information of the surrender of Bristol, which he so little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been unquestionable, it could not have been believed. With what indignation and dejection of mind the King received this advertisement, needs no other description and enlargement, than the setting down in the very words of it the letter which the King writ thereupon to Prince Rupert;' which, considering the unspeakable indulgence his Majesty had ever shewed towards that Prince, is

sufficient evidence how highly he was offended and incensed by that act; which yet he took some time sadly to think of and consider, before he would allow himself to abate so much of his natural candour towards him. As soon as he received that surprising intelligence, he presently removed from Ragland, and returned to Hereford, the post he chose wherein to consider the desperateness of the condition he was in, and to enter upon new consultations. To that purpose he sent orders 'for all the officers and their troops which had been sent into Shropshire, Worcestershire, and South Wales to provide for the relief of Bristol, to attend him there.' And as soon as he came to Hereford, he dispatched an express with this Letter to Prince Rupert.

'Hereford, 14th Sept.

'NEPHEW 1645

'THOUGH the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did, is of so much affliction to me, that it makes me 'not only forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest 'trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done, 'after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, sub-'mits himself to so mean an action? (I give it the easiest term) such—I 'have so much to say, that I will say no more of it: only, lest rashness of 'judgement be laid to my charge, I must remember you of your Letter of 'the 12th of August, whereby you assured me, that, if no mutiny happened, 'you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four days? 'Was there any thing like a mutiny? More questions might be asked, 'but now, I confess, to little purpose. My conclusion is, to desire you to 'seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my condi-'tion, somewhere beyond Seas; to which end I send you herewith a pass; 'and I pray God to make you sensible of your present condition, and give 'you means to redeem what you have lost: for I shall have no greater 'joy in a Victory, than a just occasion without blushing to assure you of 'my being

'Your loving uncle, and most faithful friend,

'C. R.'

"With this Letter the King sent a revocation of all commissions formerly granted to Prince Rupert, and signified his pleasure to the Lords of the Council at Oxford, whither Prince Rupert was retired with his troops from Bristol, 'that they should require Prince Rupert to deliver into 'their hands his Commission.' And whether the King had really some apprehension that he might make some difficulty in giving it up and make some disorder in Oxford, or whether it was the effect of other men's counsels, his Majesty, at the same time, sent a warrant likewise for the present imprisonment of Colonel Legge (who was Governor of Oxford) as a per-

son much in the Prince's favour, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his commands" [a].

Lord Clarendon, it will appear from the following Letter, was right in his first conjecture; but he does not seem to have been aware that, within the same envelope which conveyed a copy of the Letter he has printed and the warrant for the arrest of Col. Legge, another warrant was inclosed, for the ARREST *of* PRINCE RUPERT *himself* in case extremity should require Secretary Nicholas to resort to such a measure.

CHARLES R.

NICHOLAS, when you shall have considered the strange and most inexcusable deliverye upp of the Castle and Fort of Bristoll, and compared it with those many precedinge advertisements which have been given mee, I make noe doubt but you and all my Councell there will conclude that I could doe noe lesse then what you will finde heere inclosed, in my care of the preservation of my sonne, of you my faithfull servaunts there, and of that important place my Citty of Oxford. In the first place you will finde a coppy of my letter to my Nephew: secondlye a revocation of his commission of Generall: thirdlye a Warrant to Lieutenant Colonell Hamilton to exercise the charge of Lieutenant Governor of Oxford in Sir Thomas Glemham's absence: fourthlye a Warrant to the sayd Lieutenant Colonell Hamilton to apprehend the person of William Legge present Governour of Oxford: and lastly a Warrant to bee directed to what person shall be thought fittest for the apprehendinge my nephew Rupert in case of such ex-

[a] Hist. of the Rebellion, edit. 8vo. Oxf. 1807. Vol. II. pt. II. p. 1041.

treamitye as shall bee heerafter specified, and not otherwais.

As for the circumstance and timinge of the execution of all these particulars, as farr forth as they may admitt of some howres delay more or lesse, I must referr it to my Lord Treasurer's care and yours to advise of upon the place, how it may bee done with most securitye, and accordinglye to direct the manner of proceedinge. But yett I shall tell you my opinion as farr forth as I can judge at this distance, which is that you should beginne with securinge the person of William Legge before any thinge bee declared concerninge my Nephew. But that once done, then the sooner you declare to the Lords both the revokinge of my Nephew's Commission, and my making of Sir Thomas Glemham governour of Oxford, the better. As for the delivery of my letter to my Nephew, if hee be at Oxford, I take the proper time for that to bee as soone as possible may bee after the securinge of Will. Legge. But if my nephew be not there, I would then have you hasten my Letter unto him, and in the meantime putt the rest in execution. The Warrant for my Nephew's committment, is onlye that you may have the power to doe it if instead of submitting to and obeying my commaunds in going beyond Sea, you shall finde that hee practise the raisinge of mutinye or any other disturbance in that place, or any other; in which case the sayd Warrant for his commitment is

to be delivered unto whome you and my Lord Treasurer shall thinke fittest for it to bee directed unto; and by that person to bee put in execution. Lastlye I enjoyne you the care to lett all the Lords know that whatever is done in this kind is out of my tender regard of their safetye and preservation, and that they shall speedilye receive for their satisfaction a particular account of the reasons of this necessarye proceedinge. I reste

Hereford Your most assured frend
September 14th 1645. CHARLES R.

Tell my Sone that I shall lesse greeve to heere that he is knoked in the heade, then that he should doe so meane an Act as is the rendring of Bristoll Castell and Fort upon the termes it was.

C. R.

Inclosures.

CHARLES R.

WHEREAS wee have thought fitt to remove Colonell William Legge from the Government of Oxford: and have in his place constituted and appointed Governor of our sayd Cittye our trusty and well beloved Sir Thomas Glemham kt. Our will and pleasure is that in the absence of the sayd Sir Thomas Glemham, you take the charge of our sayd Cittye of Oxford, and command there as our Lieutenant Governour of that Cittye, and all persons therein concernd are required to take notice heerof, and to obey you as our Lieutenant Governour there.

Given at our Court at Hereford this 14th. of Septr. 1645.

By his Majesties command

To our Trusty and well beloved Lieutt. Colonell Hamilton. GEORGE DIGBYE.

CHARLES R.

Our will and pleasure is that upon receipt hereof you forthwith apprehend and cause to be kept in safe and close custodye the person of Colonell William Legge our late Governour of Oxford, and him soe to detaine untill our further pleasure be knowne. Of this you may not faile, and for soe doinge this shall bee your Warrant. Given at our Court at Hereford this 14th. of Septr. 1645.

By his Maties command
GEORGE DIGBYE.

To our trusty and well beloved
Lieut. Colonell William Hamilton our
Lieutenant Governour of Oxford.

CHARLES R.

As for the manner of your apprehendinge the sayd Colonell Legge and of securinge him afterwards in the most convenient place You are to followe such directions as you shall receive from Sir Edward Nicholas our Secretary of state there.

By his Maties command
GEORGE DIGBYE.

CHARLES R.

Our will and pleasure is that upon receipt heeroff you forthwith apprehend, and cause to be kept in close and safe custodye the person of our nephew Prince Rupert: and him soe to detaine untill our further pleasure be knowne. Of this you may not faile, and for soe doinge this shall bee your Warrant. Given at our Court at Hereford this 14th. of September 1645.

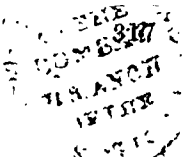
By his Maties command
GEORGE DIGBYE.

To
. . . . . .

CHARLES R.

As for the manner of your apprehendinge our sayd Nephew Prince Rupert, and of securinge him afterwards in the most convenient place, you are to followe such directions as you shall receive from Sir Edward Nicholas our Secretarye of State

By his Maties command
GEORGE DIGBYE.



LETTER CCCLXX.

King Charles to Prince Maurice on Prince Rupert's conduct.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 116. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

Newtoune 20 Sep. 1645.

NEPUEU

WHAT through want of tyme, or unwillingness, to speake to you of so unpleasing a subject, I have not yet (which now I must supply) spoken to you freely of your brother Ruperts present condition. The treuth is, that his unhansom quitting the Castell and Forte of Bristol, hath inforced me to put him off those Commands which he had in my Armys, and have sent him a Passe to goe beyond Sease; now though I could doe no lesse than this, for which (belive me) I have too much reason upon strickt examination, yet I asseure you, that I am most confident that this great error of his (which, indeed, hath given me more greefe then any misfortune since this damnable Rebellion) hath no waise proceeded from his change of affection to me or my Cause; but meerly by having his judgement seduced by some rotten-harted villaines making faire pretentions to him; and I am resolved so litle to forgett his former services, that, whensoever it shall please God to enable me to looke upon my frends lyke a King, he shall thanke God for the paines he hath spent in my Armys. So

much for him; now for yourselfe. I know you to be so free from his present misfortune, that it nowais staggars me in that good opinion which I have ever had of you, and, so long as you shall not be weary of your Imploiments under me, I will give You all the incouragement and contentment that lyes in my power; however, you shall alwais fynd me

Your loving oncle, and most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Although Prince Rupert submitted to the King's pleasure in resigning his Commission, he determined not to use his pass till he had seen the King and assigned the motives for his conduct. Lord Clarendon has given an account of his forcing his way to the King at Newark, and of the consequent interview, when, after a day or two's debate, a short Declaration was drawn up "by which Prince Rupert was absolved and cleared from any disloyalty or treason, in the rendering of Bristol; but not of *Indiscretion*" [a]. The final reconciliation however took place at Oxford, on Dec. 9th. Sir William Dugdale, in an interleaved Almanack for 1645, still remaining in the hands of Dugdale Stratford Dugdale Esq^r. his descendant, says, On the 9th, "Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, the Lord Gerard, &c. came to Oxford, and *kissed the King's hand.* On November the 9th, preceding, we are told upon the same authority, that Colonel Legge, to whose loyalty Lord Clarendon bears ample testimony, was "enlarged of his restraint, and waited that evening in his place as groom of the bed-chamber."

LETTER CCCLXXI.

Oliver Cromwell to Sir Thomas Fairfax, after recovery from Sickness.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 1519. *art.* 79. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter is sufficiently hypocritical to be thoroughly characteristic of Cromwell. It was by sanctified pretences that Cromwell and his

[a] Clarend. Hist. Reb. vol. ii. p. 1080.

party disguised their treasons. Fairfax, with all his boasted victories, was their dupe.

"A fresh instance of hypocrisy", says Hume, "was displayed the very day of the King's death. The generous Fairfax, not content with being absent from the trial, had used all the interest which he yet retained to prevent the execution of the fatal sentence; and had even employed persuasion with his own regiment, though none else would follow him, to rescue the King from his disloyal murderers. Cromwell and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavoured to convince him that the Lord had rejected the King; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from heaven on this important occasion: but they concealed from him that they had already signed the warrant for the execution. Harrison was the person appointed to join in prayer with the unwary General. By agreement, he prolonged his doleful cant, till intelligence arrived that the fatal blow was struck. He then rose from his knees, and insisted with Fairfax that this event was a miraculous and providential answer which Heaven had sent to their devout supplications."

This anecdote is, in truth, a practical comment upon the cant of Cromwell's Letter.

SIR

It hath pleased God to raise mee out of a dangerous sicknesse; and I doe most willingly acknowledge that the Lord hath (in this visitation) exercised the bowells of a Father towards mee. I receaved in my selfe the sentence of death, that I might learne to trust in him that raiseth from the dead, and have noe confidence in the flesh. Its a blessed thinge to dye daylie; for what is there in this world to be accounted off the best men according to the flesh; and thinges are lighter than vanitye. I finde this only good; to love the Lord, and his poore despised people; to doe for them, and to bee readie to suffer with them; and hee that is found worthy of this hath obteyned great favour from the Lord: and hee that is established in this, shall (being conformed to Christ, and the rest of

the bodye) participate in the Glory of a resurrection which will answare all.

Sir, I must thankfully confesse your favor in your last Letter. I see I am not forgotten: and truly, to bee kept in your remembrance is very great satisfaction to mee; for I can say in the simplicitye of my hart, I putt a high and true valew upon your love; which when I forgett, I shall cease to bee a gratefull and an honest man. I most humblie begg my service may be presented to your Lady, to whom I wish all happinesse and establishment in the Truth. Sir, my prayers are for you, as becomes

Your Excellencies most humble servant

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Sir, Mr Rushworth will write to you about the quartering and the Letter lately sent you, and therefore I forbeare.

March 7th 1647.

For his Excellency
Sir Tho. Fairfax Genl. of the Parliaments Armies,
theise.

LETTER CCCLXXII.

King Charles the First to Prince Charles; partly in cypher; with his commands.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 127. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND-WRITING.]

Teusday 1 Aug: 1648

CHARLES

I HAD written to you sooner had I knowen

where you had beèn; and particularly that express which, upon Saterday last, I directed to your brother I had sent to you, but I thought that 379: 361: 185: 28: 20: 329: 592: 60: 93: 5: 214: 126: 379: 90: 37: 1: 258: 6: 2: 212: 370: 196: 379: 245: 339: 363: 329: 165: 246: 16: 50: 212: 196: 444: 149 13: 44: 32: 14: 26: 10: 78: 43: 65: 329: 331: 380: 17: 49: 29: 338: 77: 102: 365: 5: 20: 532: 9: 41: 282: 212: 202: 379: 371: 182: 339: 337: 212: 140: 30: 74: 5: 50: 60: 107: 381: 214: 339: 93: 85: 6: 23: 220: 78: 57: 152: 5: 65: I command you to doe nothing, whether it concerns War or Peace, but with the advice of your Councell; and that you be constant to those grounds of Religion and Honor which heertofore I have given you. I suppose your not knowing how to send your Letters to me hath been the cause of your not writing since your comming out of Paris; but now, indeed I shall take it unkindly if you doe not answer this, and write my[a] dyverse other Letters. God direct and prosper you in all your actions.

Your loving Father

CHARLES R.

This Cypher which now I write in, is that which was sent you by the noble frend who conveis this Letter to you from me.

[a] me.

LETTER CCCLXXIII.

The King to Prince Charles: part in cypher: wishing him health and prosperity.

[MS. HARL. 6988. *art.* 138. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

Let none decypher this but
your selfe, or my Lord Culpeper.

CHARLES Newport 7 No: 1648.

I HAVE had so hopefull a reporte of your sickeness by Dr. Fraiser, that I hope you will be fitt to read a Letter before that this can come to you; and though now I will not troble you with long discourses, yet, I must desyre of you an account of the receipt of my former Letters, to witt fyve in October, besydes one yesterday; in some of which I gave you an advice 447: 536: 350: 563: 278: 557: 334: 179: 350: 613: 447: 563: 51: 9: 24: 5: 442: as allso 210: 410: 26: 54: 15: 25: 516: 557: 50: 61: 7: 9: 27: 5: 10: 447: 602: 429: 340: 325: 299: 332: For other things I refer you to my former Letters, and to the obedience of your Mother's commands. So God bless you, and send you perfect healthe and prosperity.

Your loving father

CHARLES R.

HERE we draw the veil upon the reign of Charles the First. At the close of the Introduction to the Letters which belong to it, it was remarked that the love of the greater part of his subjects followed him even to the

close of his existence. A stronger proof of this cannot be adduced, than in a passage from the Life of Philip Henry, an eminent divine, written by his son Matthew Henry:

"At the latter end of the year 1648, he" (Philip Henry) "had leave given him" (from College) "to make a visit to his Father at White-hall, with whom he stayed some time; there he was Jan. 30th. when the King was beheaded, and with a very sad heart saw that tragical blow given. Two things he used to speak of, that he took notice of himself that day, which I know not whether any of the Historians mention. One was, that at the instant when the blow was given, there was *such a dismal universal* GROAN *among the Thousands of People that were within sight of it* (*as it were* WITH ONE CONSENT) *as he never heard before;* and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it. The other was, that immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one Troop marching from Charing Cross towards King Street, and another from King Street towards Charing Cross, purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts which they could not but be filled with, by driving them to a shift every one for his own safety[a]."

THAT opinions differed at the time of the King's death, respecting his INTERMENT cannot be doubted. Aubrey, the Surrey antiquary, in one of his Manuscripts, speaking of Cowley's Translation of the Sortes Virgilianæ, says,

"Now as to 'The Sand his Grave', I well remember it was frequently and soberly affirmed by Officers of Arms and Grandees, that the body of King Charles the First was privately put into the Sand at Whitehall: and the Coffin that was carried to Windsor, and laid in King Henry the Eighth's Vault, was filled with rubbish, or brick-bats. Mr. Fabian Philips Juris Consultus, who adventured his life before the Kings trial by printing, assures me that the King's coffin did cost but six shillings: a plain deal Coffin"[b].

Sir Henry Halford's "Account", however "of what appeared on opening the Coffin of King Charles the First" at Windsor, on the 1st of April 1813, has set this question perfectly at rest.

IN the Journals of the House of Commons of the 30th of January 167⅞ a Vote of supply will be found to King Charles the Second, for

[a] This anecdote is singularly corroborated in the London Journal of Saturday Dec. 26. 1730, where it is stated that "one Margaret Coe of the parish of St. Saviour Southwark, died a few days since in the hundred and fourth year of her age: she was twenty one years old when King Charles the First was beheaded, and was a servant at Whitehall; she saw the executioner hold up the head after he had cut it off, and remembered *the dismal* GROAN *that was made by the vast multitude of spectators when the fatal blow was given.* Her husband was afterwards waterman to King Charles the Second."

[b] Aubrey's Remaines of Gentilisme, MS. Lansd. 231. fol. 158.

defraying the expenses of a solemn Interment of the King his father, and the erecting of a Monument to his memory.

Among Sir Christopher Wren's Drawings, also, which are still preserved in the Library of All Souls College Oxford, (Vol. ii. num. 89.) are the Designs made at that time both for a Mausoleum and a Tomb.

Two Inscriptions first occur, viz.

I.

"Mausoleum Divi Caroli Regii Martyris,
Excogitatum, Anno Salutis 1678.
De mandato serenissimi Regis Caroli Secundi,
at *(eheu conditionem Temporum)*
nondum extructum."

II.

"The Tomb of King Charles the Martyr, designed in the year 1678, by the command of his excellent Majesty King Charles II[d]. The House of Commons, on the 30th of January in that year, having voted the sum of SEVENTY THOUSAND POUNDS 'for a solemn Funeral of his late 'Majesty King Charles the First, and to erect a Monument for the said 'Prince of glorious memory; the said Sum to be rais'd by a two Months 'Tax, to begin at the expiration of the present Tax for building Ships.'

"This Monument, approved by His Majesty, was proposed to have been erected at Windsor Castle at the east end of S[t]. George's Chapel, on the place where stands the little Chapel (commonly called the Tomb House) in the middle of which was begun by Cardinal Wolsey a most magnificent Tomb, copper gilt, for King Henry the Eighth, but never finished."

Then follow: 1. An Estimate (of £43,663.2*s*.0*d*.) for erecting the Mausoleum or Monument. 2[d]. A Ground Plan. 3[d]. An Elevation of the intended building[a], and 4[th]. Two designs for a Statue of King Charles I[st] with emblematical figures; one to be executed in bronze, the other in marble: that which was approved, to be placed in the Mausoleum.

King Charles the Second RECEIVED the SEVENTY THOUSAND POUNDS: but, as Lord Clarendon says, "the Thought of the remove of his fathers body was laid aside, and *the reason communicated to very few*, FOR THE BETTER DISCOUNTENANCING FURTHER ENQUIRY." Eachard even says "it was thought that King Charles the Second NEVER SENT TO ENQUIRE after the body."

[a] The Elevation of the Mausoleum, in general character, is so much like the Radcliffe Library, that Gibbs's design for that building if not a plagiarism, was a most remarkable coincidence.

LETTERS

FROM

THE REIGN OF

KING CHARLES THE SECOND

TO

THE REIGN OF

KING GEORGE THE FIRST.

Of the few Letters which form this Division of the Work, little need be said here by way of INTRODUCTION.

The Account of the last moments of King Charles the Second; the Letters on Monmouth's Rebellion; the Account of the death of King James the Second; and the Letters upon the arraignment of the Rebels of 1715; are the chief. Though not least in elegance of diction, will be found the Letter of the Chevalier de St. George, inviting his consort to return to him after their separation. His Consort, the reader is aware, was the Princess Clementina Sobieski; the reason given for whose perseverance in this separation was remarkable, that the Chevalier had engaged A PROTESTANT TUTOR *for the education of his Son.* But this part of the letter will be noticed again.

It would have been easy to have given more Letters of this period; or even to have brought the Series lower. But private Letters of any time when party differences run high, are apt to contain reflections upon individual character. It has been the object of the present Work, as far as possible, to illustrate HISTORICAL FACT only.

LETTER CCCLXXIV.

King Charles the Second to . . . . . [a]

[MS. LANSD. MUS. BRIT. NUM. 1236. fol. 1. *Orig.*]

I HAVE had soo good testimony of your affection to the King my deare Father of blessed memory, that I desire you on this great occasion to lend me five hundred pounds, whereof I promise You, on my royall word, very faithfull repayment. I have troubled few of my friends in this kind, and I doubt not your readinesse to answer this desire of

Your assured friend

S[t]. Germ. 31 Aug. 1649. CHARLES R.

50. 11. 500.

105. 1200. 395. 35. 28. 4. 23.

LETTER CCCLXXV.

King Charles the Second to the Earl of Sandwich.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 1519. *art.* 97. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE KING'S HAND.]

*** Edward Montague, Earl of Sandwich, was third in command of the English Fleet, when the Duke of York obtained the Victory off Harwich over the Dutch admiral Obdam, June 3[d]. 1665. He grew less in favour in the month of August following; when the detachment from the English fleet, at that time under his entire command, failed in the attack upon the Dutch ships at Berghen.

[a] The name in cypher. See the figures after the date.

Whitehall 9th June 1665.

My Lord Sandwich, Though you have already done me very eminent service, yet the great part you have had in this happy Victory which it hath pleased God to send us, adds very much to the former obligations I have to you. I send this bearer my Lord Hawly on purpose to lett you know more particularly my sence of it, and will say no more my selfe till I see you, that I may take you in my armes, and give you other testimonies how truely I am

Your affectionat frinde

For the Earle of Sandwich.

CHARLES R.

LETTER CCCLXXVI.

James Duke of York to Henrietta Fitz-James, his natural daughter; a Letter of Advice.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 5015. 11. *Orig.*]

*** Among what are called the Donation Manuscripts in the British Museum, there are no fewer than fifteen Letters of King James the Second to his natural daughter Henrietta Fitz-James. Her mother was Mrs. Arabella Churchill, the sister of John Duke of Marlborough. Henrietta was afterwards married to Sir Henry Waldegrave of Cheuton in the County of Somerset, Bart. who, in January 1686, was made Lord Waldegrave of Cheuton. James's other children by Mrs. Churchill, were, James Fitz-James, afterwards Duke of Berwick; Henry Fitz-James; and a daughter who became a nun.

These Letters were found in the Museum a few years ago, among some loose papers. It was not known to what Collection of Manuscripts they had belonged. They are dated between 1682 and 1687; and are entirely in King James's hand-writing. Six of them are here laid before the reader. The chronological arrangement of this Work has been once more trespassed upon, for the sake of keeping them together.

Windsor April 23. 1682

I HAVE received the Letter you wrote lately to me, and am very glad to find by one I had at the same time from my cousin the Princesse Louise, that you behave yourself so well, and that she gives you so good a character. I hope you will do nothing to give her reason to alter her opinion of you, and that you will do nothing to make me lesse kind to you then I am, and you shall upon all occasions find me as kind to you as you can desire.

For M^rs Henrietta Fitz James
at Maubuison.

JAMES.

LETTER CCCLXXVII.

James Duke of York to Henrietta Fitz James; announcing his intention that she should come to England.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 5015. 11. *Orig.*]

Windsor,
May 29. 1683.

YOU have now been long enough where you are, and are of an age proper to know whether that kind of life will agree with you or no; to know which, and the desire I have to see you, has made me desire this bearer, Sir Henry Tichburne, to bring you over into England, along with his Wife, to his owne house[a];

[a] Tichborne House in Hampshire, three miles from Alresford.

where I shall have the opportunity of seeing you when we go to Winchester this sommer, and letting you see that I shall always be very kind to you.

JAMES.

LETTER CCCLXXVIII.

James Duke of York to Henrietta Fitz James, now Lady Waldegrave.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 5015. 11. *Orig.*]

Windsor, June 9. 1684

TILL the Duchesse came to this place, I did not know that Sir Charles Waldgrave was dead, or els I had writen soner to you to have told you I was sorry to heare of it; and now that Sir Henry is come to the estate I must recommend to you both to be good managers, and to be sure to live within what you have, and be sure to have a care not to run out at first. Now that the Duchesse is here, I shall seldome go to London; when I do, I shall be sure to lett you know it, that you may meet me there. Tomorrow I am to go a hunting; and on Friday to Hampton Court: and at any tyme when you do come hether, take care that it be not when I am abroad, that you may not mise me. Let me heare from you, and be assured I shall always be very kind to you.

For the younge
Lady Waldgrave.

LETTER CCCLXXIX.

King James the Second to Lady Waldegrave. Enquiries concerning her brother Henry Fitz James.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 5015. 11. *Orig.*]

Windsor Saturday Morning

I WAS very sorry to heare this morning of the accident which happened to your brother Harry, and send thes foottman on purpose to you, to have an account from you how he do's. They tell me his face will not be marked with it. Pray lett me know the truth out, and how sone they thinke he may be well enough to go. Remember me to your Brother James, and tell him I am sorry his journey should be stopped for some days, especialy by such an accident; and tell Harry I hope he will be carefuller for the tyme to come; and now, that he do what the Chirurgeons will have him, which is all I shall say now, but to assure you of the continuance of my kindnesse

J. R.

For the Lady Waldgrave.

LETTER CCCLXXX.

King James the Second to the Lady Waldegrave; concerning her elder brother the Duke of Berwick.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 5015. 11. *Orig.*]

Coventry Sept. 1. 1687

Two days since I was very much allarumd by the

Letters which came from France about your brother Barwick, but now, God be thank'd, I am at ease concerning him, for by Letters I have had this day from severall parts, and from the Army, I find he was very well recovered tho' still a little weake; and I believe the Earle of Kennole who died at Mohas, neare the Army, was the occasion of that report. I beleve by that tyme this gets to you, I shall have letters from him or Sir Ed. Vandery. I have not tyme to say more, but that you shall still find me very kind to you.

For the Lady Waldgrave.

LETTER CCCLXXXI.

King James the Second to the Lady Waldegrave.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 5015. 11. *Orig.*]

Windsor Sep. 24. 1687

I HAVE received yours of the 20th, and since my being here, have had a Letter from your brother Barwick, from Raab; since when I heare he was arrived at Vienna, so that, before this, I hope he is on his way for England. I have had Letters also from your brother Harry, from Lisbone. You did well to stay at the Bath for the reason you gave; tho I should have been glad to have seen you sooner.

J. R.

For the Lady Waldgrave.

LETTER CCCLXXXII.

. . . . . *to the Rev. Francis Roper, Fellow of S^t. John's College Cambridge, detailing the particulars of the death of King Charles the Second.*

[MS. COLE, MUS. BRIT. VOL. lix. p. 188.]

*** This Letter, with another which gives an account of the death of James the Second, and a grant of land to Kershall Priory in Lancashire, were found by the late D^r. Richard Farmer, in the month of December, 1780, concealed within the cover of an old book. They were communicated by him to the rev. M^r. Cole of Milton, who preserved transcripts of them.

Both Letters were addressed to the Rev. Francis Roper of S^t. John's College Cambridge, and the signature of one, and part of that to the other, were torn away.

This, however, which describes the last moments of King Charles the Second, as we gather from its own evidence, was written by the chaplain to D^r. Turner bishop of Ely, who was then in the room: and differs in some points so materially from the Account of that event described by bishop Burnet, that it seems peculiarly to deserve a place here. The writer indeed gives the King credit for a stronger sense of religion than either bishop Burnet or any body else may be willing to allow: but in all other respects its testimony seems to be preferable to the bishop's; and more especially in that part of the narrative which concerns the Queen.

Bishop Burnet, having noticed the absolution which was said to have been given to the King according to the rites of the Romish Church, by Father Huddleston, proceeds to the circumstances of the King's last Interview with the bishops and the members of his family:

"The King," he says, "went through the agonies of death with a calm and a constancy that amazed all who were about him and knew how he lived. This made some conclude that he had made a Will, and that his quiet was the effect of that. Ken applied himself much to the awaking the King's conscience. He spoke with a great elevation, both of thought and expression, like a man inspired, as those who were present told me. He resumed the matter often, and pronounced many short ejaculations and prayers, which affected all that were present, except him that was the most concerned, who seemed to take no notice of him, and made no answers to him. He pressed the King six or seven times to receive the Sacrament; but the King always declined it, saying he was very weak. A table with the elements upon it, ready to be consecrated, was brought into the room; which occasioned a report to be then spread about, that he had received it.

Ken pressed him to declare that he desired it, and that he died in the communion of the Church of England. To that he answered nothing. Ken asked him if he desired absolution from his sins. It seems the King, if he then thought any thing at all, thought that would do him no hurt. So Ken pronounced it over him: for which he was blamed, since the King expressed no sense or sorrow for his past life, nor any purpose of amendment. It was thought to be a prostitution of the peace of the Church to give it to one, who, after a life led as the King's had been, seemed to harden himself against every thing that could be said to him. Ken was also censured for another piece of indecency. He presented the Duke of Richmond, Lady Portsmouth's son, to be blessed by the King. Upon this, some that were in the room cried out, the King was their common Father. And upon that, all kneeled down for his blessing, which he gave them. The King suffered much inwardly, and said he was burnt up within; of which he complained often but with great decency. He said once, he hoped he should climb up to Heaven's gates; which was the only word savouring of religion that he was heard to speak.

"He gathered all his strength to speak his last words to the Duke, to which every one hearkened with great attention. He expressed his kindness to him, and that he now delivered all over to him with great joy. He recommended Lady Portsmouth over and over again to him. He said he had always loved her, and he loved her now to the last; and besought the Duke in as melting words as he could fetch out, to be very kind to her and her son. He recommended his other children to him: and concluded, 'Let not poor Nelly starve;' that was Mrs. Gwyn. 'But *he said nothing of the* QUEEN, nor any one word of his people, or his servants; nor did he speak one word of Religion, or concerning the payment of his debts, though he left behind him about ninety thousand guineas, which he had gathered, either out of the privy purse, or out of the money which was sent him from France, or by other methods; and which he had kept so secretly that no person whatever knew any thing of it.

"He continued in the agony till Friday at eleven o'clock, being the sixth of February 168½; and then died in the fifty fourth year of his age."

Let this statement be compared with the Letter.

Ely House Feb. 7th 1684-5.

REV. SIR

YESTERDAY noon, I doe believe the most lamented Prince that ever satt upon a Throne, one of the best of Kings, after near five days sickness, left this world;

translated doubtless to a much more glorious Kingdome then all those which he has left behind him now bewailing of their losse. 'Twas a great peice of providence that this fatal blow was not so sudden as it would have been, if he had dy'd on Munday, when his fitt first took him: as he must have done, if Dr. King had not been by, by chance, and lett him blood. By these few dayes respitt, he had opportunity (which accordingly he did embrace) of thinking of another World; and wee are all prepared the better to sustain so great a loss. He showed himself, throughout his sickness, one of the best natur'd men that ever lived; and by abundance of fine things he sayd in reference to his soul, he showed he dyed as good a christian: and the physicians, who have seen so many leave this world, doe say, they never saw the like as to his courage, so unconcerned he was at Death, though sensible to all degrees imaginable, to the very last. He often in extremity of pain would say he suffered, but thank'd God that he did so, and that he suffered patiently. He every now and then would seem to wish for Death, and beg the pardon of the standers by, and those that were employed about him, that he gave them so much trouble: that he hoped the work was almost over: he was weary of this world: he had enough of it: and he was going to a better. There was so much affection and tenderness express'd between the two Royal Brothers, the

one upon the bed, the other almost drowned in tears upon his knees and kissing of his dying brother's hand, as could not but extremely move the standers by. He thank'd our present King for having always been the best of brothers and of friends, and begg'd his pardon for the trouble he had given him from time to time, and for the several risks of fortune he had run on his account. He told him now he freely left him all, and begg'd of God to bless him with a prosperous reign. He recommended all his children to his care by name, except the Duke of Monmouth, whom he was not heard so much as to make mention of. He bless'd all his children, one by one, pulling them to him on the bed: and then the Bishops moved him, as he was the Lords anointed, and the father of his countrey, to bless them also, and all that were there present, and in them the whole body of his subjects: whereupon, the room being full, all fell down upon their knees, and he raised himself in his bed, and very solemnly blessed them all. This was so like a great good Prince, and the solemnity of it so very surprizing, as was extreamly moving, and caused a general lamentation throughout; and no one hears it without being much affected with it; being new and great.

'Tis not to be express'd how strangely every body was concern'd, when they perceiv'd there was but little hopes.

To all appearance, never any Prince came to a Crown with more regrett, with more unwillingness, because it could not bee without the loss of one he lov'd so dearly, then did our gracious Prince (whom God preserve). He joyn'd as heartily as any of the company in all the prayers the Bishops offered up to God. He was as much upon his knees as any one, and said Amen as heartily: and no one doubts but he as much desired God would hear their prayers, as any one of all that prayed.

The Queen, whom he[a] had asked for the first thing he said on Munday when he came out of his Fit, (she having been present with him as long as her extraordinary passion would give her leave, which at length threw her into fits, not being able to speak while with him,) sent a message to him to excuse her absence, and to beg his pardon if ever she had offended him in all her life. He replied, 'alas! poor woman! she beg my pardon! I beg her's with all my heart.'

The Queen that now is was a most passionate mourner, and so tender hearted, as to think a Crown dearly bought with the loss of such a brother. There was, indeed, no one of either sex but wept like children.

On Friday morning all the Churches were so throng'd with people to pray for him, all in tears and with dejected looks, that for my part I found it

[a] The King.

a hard task, and so I doe believe did many more, to goe through with the Service: so melancholy was the sight, as well as were the thoughts of the occasion of it.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells[a] watching on Wednesday night, (as my Lord had done the night before,) there appearing then some danger, began to discourse to him as a Divine: and thereupon he did continue the speaker for the rest to the last, the other Bishops giving their assistance both by prayers and otherwise, as they saw occasion, with very good ejaculations and short speeches, till his speech quite left him; and afterwards, by lifting up his hand, expressing his attention to the prayers, he made as very glorious christian exit, after as lasting and as strong an agony of death, almost as ere was known.

About 4 o'clock King James was proclaimed with the usuall solemnity and with great acclamations, together with a decent concern for the loss of so good a Prince. All things were managed with great order and quiett; and his Maj^tie, at night, in Council, made a very gracious declaration (which, I suppose, will be in print) wherein he promis'd solemnly to tread exactly in his brothers steps, both as to money[b] and governing according to law; and particularly that he would maintain the Church as now by law establish'd. The same declaration he made to my Lord in pri-

[a] Bishop Ken.

[b] *Men* or *money*; Mr. Cole in making his transcript was uncertain which was the word.

vate, with solemn protestations: and 'tis his constant discourse, that he will not in the least disturb the established government of the Church, either by toleration, or any other way whatever.

This day the Archbishop and Bishops waited on his Majestie and desired private audience; and in the Closett the Archbishop made a very eloquent speech, by way of thanks, in the name of the whole Clergy, for the last night's declaration, as what prevented what otherwise they must have made their earnest prayer and suit to him, to patronize the Church, as his royall brother of blessed memory had all along done: giving him all assurances of loyalty in the Clergy as what he might depend upon, as it is both the doctrine and practice of our Church, beyond any Church in the World. His Majestie again repeated what he had before declar'd, and said moreover, he would never give any sort of countenance to Dissenters, knowing that it must needs be faction and not religion, if men could not bee content to meet five besides their own familie, which the Law dispenses with.

Thus to make amends for our great loss, wee are much comforted with the hopes we have of our Church continuing in its former flourishing estate. His Majestie has never yet been known to bee worse than his word; and 'tis to be hop'd he will not bee, in so often repeated promises. God continue him in his good resolutions, and make us all live peaceably and hap-

pily under him, and that his reign may bee alwayes answerable to this auspicious beginning. I am

Sir, your . . . . .

. . . . . .

LETTER CCCLXXXIII.

The Duke of Monmouth to the Duke of Albemarle; signing as King.

[MS. HARL. BRIT. MUS. 7006.]

*** Christopher Duke of Albemarle, the son of the first Duke, was one of the commanders who were sent by James the Second against Monmouth. The following is a Copy of his Letter to the Earl of Sunderland, inclosing Monmouth's different Proclamations.

" Taunton June 23th 1685.

" MY LORD

I CAME hither this night, where I found these several Proclamations which I send to your Lordship only for your diversion. I am,

My Lord

Your Lordship's most humble Servant

ALBEMARLE.

These were

1. The Duke of Monmouths Proclamation against robbing: from Taunton June 18th 1685.

2. The Declaration proclaiming him King, June 20th 1685.

3. His Proclamation declaring the Duke of Albemarle a rebel. June 21st. 1685.

4. His Declaration concerning collecting the Revenue. June 21st. 1685.

5. His Proclamation against the Parliament then sitting. June 21st. 1685.

The following was the Duke of Monmouth's Letter to the Duke of Albemarle previous to his publishing the third of these Proclamations. This Letter is alluded to in one from King James the Second to the Prince of Orange, dated June 23d 1685, printed by Dalrymple.

MY LORD

WHEREAS we are credibly informed that

there are some horse and foot in arms under your command for James Duke of York, which are purposely raised in opposition to us and our royal authority. We thought fit to signify to you our resentment thereof, and do promise ourself that what you have transacted therein is through inadvertency and mistake; and that your Grace will take other means, when you have received information of our being proclaimed King to succeed our royal father lately deceased. We have therefore sent this messenger on purpose to intimate the same unto you; and it is our royal will and pleasure, and we do hereby strictly charge and command you upon notice and receipt hereof, to cease all hostility, and force, and arms, against us and all our loving subjects; and that your Grace would immediately repair to our Camp where you shall not fail of a very kind reception by us. Or in default of the premises, we shall be obliged to proclaim you, and all those in arms under your command, rebels and traitors; and shall proceed against them and you accordingly. Yet we assure ourself that your Grace will pay ready obedience to our command; wherefore we bid you heartily farewell.

JAMES R.

To our trusty and welbeloved
Cousin and Councellor
Christopher Lord Duke of Albemarle.

LETTER CCCLXXXIV.

The Duke of Albemarle's Answer to the Duke of Monmouth.

[MS. HARL. MUS. BRIT. 7006.]

*** This Answer was sent back by the same Trumpet which brought the Duke of Monmouth's Letter.

I RECEIVED your Letter and do not doubt but you would use me very kindly if you had me; and since you have given yourself the trouble of Invitation, this is to let you know that I never was, nor never will be a rebel to my lawful King, who is James the second, brother to my late dear master King Charles the Second. If you think I am in the wrong, and you in the right, whenever we meet I do not doubt but the justness of my cause shall sufficiently convince you that you had better have lett this Rebellion alone, and not to have put the Nation to so much trouble.

ALBEMARLE.

For James Scott, late Duke of Monmouth.

THE capture of the Duke of Monmouth was thus announced in the London Gazette.

"Whitehall July 8th. at 12 oClock at Night.

"His Majesty has just now received an Account that the late Duke of Monmouth was taken this morning in Dorsetshire, being hid in a Ditch; and that he is in the hands of my Lord Lumley."

From Ringwood in Hampshire, on the 9th. of July, the Duke of Monmouth wrote the Letter which follows:

LETTER CCCLXXXV.

The Duke of Monmouth to the Queen Dowager, supplicating for her interest to save his life.

[MS. LANSD. MUS. BRIT. 1236. *art.* 130.]

MADAM " From Ringwood the 9th.

BEING in this unfortunate condition, and having none left but your Majesty that I think may have some compassion of me, and that for the last King's sake, makes me take this boldnes to beg of you to intersed for me. I would not desire your Majesty to doe it, if I wear not from the botom of my hart convinced how I have bine disceaved in to it, and how angry God Almighty is with me for it: but I hope, Madam, your intersesion will give me life to repent of it, and to shew the King how really and truly I will serve him hereafter. And I hope, Madam, your Majesty will be convinced that the Life you save shall ever be devoted to your service; for I have been and ever shall be

Your Majesty's most dutifull and obedient servant

MONMOUTH.

BISHOP Kennet, in the only account of the interview between James the Second and Monmouth previous to his execution, which is considered as authentic, says that "the King asked him several questions, *and made him sign a Declaration that his father told him he was never married to his mother.*" This is one of the circumstances which Mr. Fox in his History of the Reign of James the Second, justly considers as too atrocious to

merit belief without some more certain evidence. And, in fact, King Charles the Second had himself done it more effectually than it was possible for James to do, by any confession of Monmouth. The nullity of the connection between the former King and the Duke of Monmouth's mother had been certified to the public with all due formality in the London Gazette, five years before [a].

"Whitehall June 8th.

"This day was published His Majesties Declaration, which follows:

CHARLES R.

'We cannot but take notice of the great Industry and Malice wherewith some men of a seditious and restless spirit, do spread abroad a most false and scandalous Report, of a Marriage or Contract of Marriage, supposed to be had and made between Us, and one *Mrs. Walters*, alias *Barlow*, now deceased, mother of the present Duke of Monmouth, aiming thereby to fill the minds of Our Loveing Subjects with Doubts and Fears, and if possible to divide them into Parties and Factions, and as much as in them lies, to bring into Question, the clear undoubted Right of Our true and lawful Heirs, and Successors to the Crown.

We have therefore thought Our Self obliged to let Our loveing Subjects see, what steps, We (out of our care of them and their posterity) have already made, in order to obviate the ill consequences, that so dangerous and malicious a Report may have in future times, upon the Peace of Our Kingdoms:

In January last was Twelvemonth, We made a Declaration, written with Our own Hand, in these Words following,

"THere being a false and malicious Report, industriously spread abroad by some, who are neither friends to me, or the Duke of Monmouth, as if I should have been either contracted, or married to his Mother; and though I am most confident that this idle Story cannot have any effect in this Age, yet I thought it my Duty in relation to the true Succession of this Crown, and that future Ages may not have any pretence to give disturbance upon that score or any other of this nature to declare, as I do here declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I never was married nor gave any Contract to any Woman whatsoever, but to my Wife Queen Catherine, to whom I am now married. In Witness whereof, I set my hand at Whitehall, the sixth of January 1679.

CHARLES R.

and this Declaration I make in presence of

W. CANT. H. COVENTRY.
H. FINCH C. F. WILLIAMSON."

To strengthen which Declaration, We did in March following (which was March last was Twelvemonth) make a more publick Declaration in Our Privy Council, written likewise with Our own Hand; and having caused a true Transcript thereof, to be entred in Our Council Books, We signed it, and caused the Lords of Our Privy Council, then attending Us in Council, to subscribe the same likewise, and We ordered the Original to remain in the Council Chest, where it now remains. The entry whereof in the Council Book is in these words following.

"At the Court at Whitehall, March 3d. 1679.

Present.

THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

LORD CHANCELLOR.	EARL OF ESSEX.
LORD TREASURER.	EARL OF BATH.
DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.	EARL OF CRAVEN.
MARQUESS OF WORCESTER.	EARL OF AYLESBURY.
EARL OF OSSORY.	LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.
LORD CHAMBERLAIN.	LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.
EARL OF SUNDERLAND.	LORD MAYNARD.
EARL OF CLARENDON.	MR. VICE-CHAMBERLAIN.

Whether the following Letter has heretofore been printed, the Editor is not certain. He has obtained it from a transcript only, and not from the original: and therefore prints it in a small type. It is the Duke of Mon-

"His Majesty was this day pleased to command, that the Declaration hereafter following, be entered in the Council Book, it being all written, and signed by His Majesties own hand, in a Paper which His Majesty this day delivered at the Board, to be kept in the Council Chest, viz.

For the avoiding of any Disputes which may happen in time to come, concerning the Succession of the Crown I do here declare, in the presence of the Almighty God, that I never gave nor made any Contract of Marriage, nor was married to any Woman whatsoever, but to my present Wife Queen Catherine now living. Whitehall, the Third day of March 1679.

CHARLES R.

His Majesty commanded us who were present at the Making and Signing this Declaration to attest the same,

FINCH C.	ESSEX.
DANBY.	BATH.
LAUDERDALE.	CRAVEN.
WORCESTER.	AYLESBURY.
OSSORY.	H. LONDON.
ARLINGTON.	N. DURHAM.
SUNDERLAND.	W. MAYNARD.
CLARENDON.	G. CARTERET."[1]

In April last We found the same Rumour, not only revived again, but also improved with new Additions, To wit, it was given out, that there was a Writing yet extant, and lately produced before several persons, whereby the said Marriage, or a Contract at least (for the report was various) would appear, and that there are several Lords, and others yet living, who were pretended to have been present at the said Marriage. We knew full well, that it was imposible, that any thing of this should be true, (there being nothing more groundless and false, than that there was any such Marriage or Contract between Us and the said Mrs Walters, alias Barlow yet We proceeded to call before Us, and caused to be interrogated in Council, such Lords, and other persons as the common rumour did surmise to have been present at the pretended Marriage, or to know something of it, or of the said Writing; and though it appeared to all Our Council, upon the hearing of the said Lords and other persons, severally interrogated, and upon their denying to have been present at any such Marriage, or to know any thing of it or of any such Writing, that the raising and spreading of such a Report, so incoherent in the several parts of it, was the effect of deep Malice in some few, and of loose and idle Discourse in others; Yet We think it requisite at this time to make Our Declarations above recited, more publick; and to order the same (as We do hereby, with the advice of Our Privy Council) to be forthwith printed and published. And We do again upon this occasion, call Almighty God to Witness and declare upon the Faith of a Christian, and the Word of a King that there was never any Marriage, or Contract of Marriage, had or made between Us, and the said Mrs Walters, alias Barlow, the Duke of Monmouths mother, nor between Us, and any Woman whatsoever, Our Royal Consort Queen Catherine, that now is, only excepted.

And We do hereby strictly require and command all our Subjects whatsoever, that they presume not to utter or publish any thing contrary to the tenor of this Our Declaration, at their peril, and upon pain of being proceeded against according to the utmost severity and rigor of the Law.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the second day of June, in the two and thirtieth Year of Our Reign."

Lond. Gaz. June 7th. to June 10th. 1680.

mouth's Letter to King James the second the day before his execution, desiring some short respite.

"Tuesday.

"SIR

I HAVE received your Majesty's order this day that I am to dye tomorrow. I was in hopes Sir by what your Majesty said to me yesterday, of taking care of my Soul, that I should have had some little more time; for truly, Sir, this is very short. I do beg of your Majesty, if it be possible to let me have one day more, that I may go out of the world as a christian ought.

"I had desired several times to speak with my Lord Arundel of Wardour, which I do desire still. I hope your Majesty will grant it me; and I do beg of your Majesty to let me know by him if there is nothing in this world that can recal your sentence, or, at least reprieve me for some time. I was in hopes I should have lived to have served you, which I think I could have done to a great degree; but your Majesty does not think it fit. Therefore, Sir, I shall end my days with being satisfied that I had all the good intentions imaginable for it, and should have done it, being that I am your Majesty's most dutiful

MONMOUTH.

"I hope your Majesty will give Doctor Tennison leave to come to me, or any other that your Majesty will be pleased to grant me."

"To the King."

Two extracts of Letters from King James to the Prince of Orange will not be thought irrelative here. These are printed by Dalrymple[a].

Whitehall July 14th. 1685.

"I HAVE had yours of the 17th. and now the Duke of Monmouth is brought up hither with Lord Grey and the Brandenburgher. The two first desired very earnestly to speak with me, as having things of importance to say to me, which they did, but did not answer my expectation in what they said to me. The Duke of Monmouth seemed more concerned and desirous to live, and did behave himself not so well as I expected, nor so as one ought to have expected from one who had taken upon him to be King. I have signed the warrant for his execution tomorrow."

"Whitehall July 17. 1685.

"I find by yours of the 21st. that you had heard of the defeat of the rebels, and before this you will have been informed of the Duke of Monmouth having been taken and brought hither. He was very solicitous to have gained more time, and did many things towards it, not very decent for one, who had taken on him the title of King. He was beheaded on Wednesday on the Tower-hill. He died resolutely, and a downright enthusiast."

[a] Memoirs of Great Brit. and Irel. vol. ii. App. Part i. pp. 134, 135.

The Duke of Monmouth suffered July 15th. The Gazette says, "This day, the late Duke of Monmouth, being attainted of High Treason by Act of Parliament, was beheaded on a scaffold erected for that purpose on Tower-Hill."

Hume has enlarged much upon the barbarities of the soldiery in the West, after Monmouth's rebellion had been subdued. The cruel Jefferies, he adds, succeeded after some interval; and showed the people that the rigours of the law might equal, if not exceed the ravages of military tyranny.

As an illustration of this last remark the Editor lays before his readers an Extract from the Books of the Corporation of Weymouth and Melcomb Regis obligingly communicated by Giles Templeman Esqr. Recorder of that Borough, by the hands of J. D. Phelps Esqr.

"Borough and Town of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis } At a Hall there held the 14th *Sept.* An. Dom. 1685. There being present Mr. Ledore, mayor, Mr. Biles, Mr Collier, bailiffs, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Everett, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Maynard, Mr. John Dry, Mr. Parkle, Mr. Wade, Mr. Claver. It is agreed on that Whereas by virtue of an Order to the High Sheriff of this County sent from the Rt. Honble. George Lord Jefferies, he has issued his precept in the words following,

To the Mayor of the Borough or Vill of Weymouth and Melcomb Regis greeting; I hereby require and command you that you forthwith erect within your said Borough, in a convenient place, a sufficient Gallows for the executing the several persons condemned and appointed to be executed on Tuesday next within your said Borough. Hereof you are not to fail at your peril. Given under my seal of Office the eleventh day of September Anno Dom. 1685.

Signed Wm. Lewis, Sheriff:

"That the Gallows shall be made accordingly and erected on or near Green Hill in the confines of this Borough."

The entry goes on to state "That twelve persons being executed on the Gallows so erected, their Heads and Quarters were disposed of by the Mayor according to the Sheriff's precept to him directed as followeth: vizt. To Upway, four quarters and one head. To Sutton Pointz, two quarters and one head. To Osmington, four quarters and one head. To Preston two quarters. To Weeks, two quarters. To Winfrith, four quarters, one head. To Broad Main, two quarters, one head. To Radipole, two quarters. To Winterbourn St. Martin, two quarters. To Puddletown, four quarters, one head. To Bincomb two quarters, The rest of the quarters and heads were set up in this Town at the places following: six quarters one head at the Grand Pier: two quarters at Weymouth town's end: four quarters one head near the Wind-mill: two quarters at Weymouth town-hall: one quarter two heads on the Bridge: and one quarter two heads at Melcomb town hall."

LETTER CCCLXXXVI.

The Privy Council to the Earl of Rochester, announcing the Birth of James Prince of Wales.

[FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.]

*** Dalrymple, in his Memoirs already quoted, has printed D^r^. Birch's Notes from the Correspondence of the Princess Anne with the Princess of Orange, respecting the birth of James Prince of Wales, afterwards called the Pretender, and the Chevalier de S^t^. George: the evidence as to the reality of whose birth, upon the Princess's own showing, seems satisfactory.

Dalrymple it is probable, (as the Notes alluded to were communicated to him by Lord Hardwicke,) was not aware that the same volume of D^r^. Birch's Manuscripts also contains Extracts from QUEEN MARY *of* ESTE'S own correspondence, nearly at the same time, with the PRINCESS *of* ORANGE.

From what quarter the Doctor obtained these Letters he has not recorded; but there can be no doubt of their authenticity. They are evidently confidential Letters: and relate to the expected Revolution, as well as to the Pretender's birth.

" Whitehall, Febr. 21. 1688.

—" Am already very big, tho' I don't reckon myself gone above twenty weeks."

" Whitehall, May 15. 1688.

—" Soundly frighted. * * * * * * I am now within six weeks."

" S^t^. James's July 6^th^.

" The first moment that I have taken a pen in my hand since I was brought to bed, is this, to write to my dear LEMON.

" Whitehall July 13^th^.

" I did not hope two months ago to have had all well over by this time; for I came a month sooner than I reckoned; which mistake I thought I could not make, counting as I used to do. If my child had not been bigger and stronger than any that ever I had, I should have thought I had come before my time."

" Windsor, July 31.

Suspects her not being so kind to her as she used to be. " And the reason I have to think so is (for since I have begun I must tell you all the truth) that since I have been brought to bed, you have never once in your Letters to me taken the least notice of my son, no more than if he had never been born, only in that which M. Zuilystein brought, that I look upon as a compliment that you could not avoid[a]; though I should not have taken it so, if even you had named him afterwards."

[a] Whitehall July 1st 1688. The 23d past, the Sieur de Zuilestein, who is [illegible]

"Windsor, Aug. 17.

Answer to the Princess's Letter by the last Post. "Even in this last Letter, by the way, you speak of my son; and the formal name you call him by, I am further confirmed in the thoughts I had before, that you have for him the last Indifference. The King has often told me, with a great deal of trouble, that as often as he has mentioned his son in his Letters to you, you never once answered any thing concerning him."

Princess's Endorsement.

"Answered that all the King's children shall ever find as much affection and kindness from me as can be expected from children of the same Father."

"Whitehall, Sept. 21.

Excuses not writing before, because the Princess Anne came to see her last Post Day, "after I had been two months without seeing her."

"Sept. 28th.

"I am much put to it what to say, at a time when nothing is talked of here but the Prince of Orange's coming over with an army. This has been said a long time and believed by a great many, but I do protest to you I never did believe it, till now very lately, that I have no possibility left of doubting it. The second part of this News I will never believe, that is that you are to come over with him; for I know you to be too good, that I dont believe you could have such a thought against the worst of fathers, much less perform it against the best, that has always been kind to you, and I believe has loved you better than all the rest of his children."

"Whitehall Octob. 5.

"I dont well know what to say. Dissemble I cannot; and if I enter upon the subject that fills every body's mind, I am afraid of saying too much: and therefore I think the best way is to say nothing."

After our very hearty Commendations to your Lordship: it having pleased Almighty God about ten of the Clock this morning to blesse His Majesty and his royall Consort the Queene with the birth of a hopefull Son, and his Majesty's Kingdomes and Dominions with a Prince, Wee doe by His Majesty's command hereby signify the same unto your Lordship, desiring that it be likewise forthwith communicated by

from her Royal Highness the Princess and his Highness the Prince of Orange, to congratulate upon the Birth of the Prince, had audience of the Queen." Lond. Gaz. No. 2360.

You to your Deputy Lieutenants, the Justices of Peace, and the severall Corporations within your Lieutenancy, to the end they may all joyne, at such time as his Majesty shall please to appoint by his royall Proclamation for that purpose, as well in solemne Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for so inestimable a blessing, as in such other expressions of publique rejoyceing, as are suitable and accustomed on so great an occasion. And so wee bid your Lordship very heartely farewell. From the Council Chamber in Whitehall this 10th of June 1688.

Yor Lops very loving friends

JEFFREYS. C.

SUNDERLAND P. BATHE. POWIS.

MIDDLETON. CRAUEN. CASTLEMAINE.

DOUER. DARTMOUTH. J. ERNLE.

JOHN NICHOLAS.

To our very good Lord Laurence Earle of Rochester Lord Lieutenant of the County of Hartford.

LETTER CCCLXXXVII.

Mr. Dell to . . . . . upon the Arrival of King William in London.

*** The Writer's own draft of this Letter was communicated to the Editor by his friend Sir George Nayler, from a Collection of more than twenty such, describing the state of the metropolis and the movements of King James's Court at the moment of the Revolution.

Mr. Dell was one of the Intelligencers who have been noticed in a former page as usually corresponding with persons of consequence during their absence from Court; and is believed to have held a post about the

House of Commons. The name of the person to whom his Letter was addressed is omitted in the draft.

London 18 Dec. 1688.

Sir

Common experience tells us that when people earnestly desire any thing, they are apt to fancy the success will be answerable to their expectation; which is the reason why the time of the Prince of Orange's coming has been so often positively determined; but I can now certainly assure you that he arrived at S^t^. James's about two a clock this afternoon; tho' I will not pretend to describe the Manner of his Entrance, it being as privately as with respect to his attendance was possible: being met, out of Town, by the Sherifs of London and Middlesex, who surrendered their white staves to his Highness, which were immediately returned to them. It will be unnecessary to acquaint you that he was preceded and guarded by a numerous company of his army, and accompanied by multitudes of all ranks on horseback; these being inseperable consequences of such occurrences; and the excessive rain which fell this day, I may almost say without intermission, could not detain the generality within doors, notwithstanding the streets by reason of the extraordinary crowd restrained them from an absolute liberty, so powerful is the concupiscence of satisfying ones curiosity. You may imagine it was no unsurprising spectacle to see (if I may so phrase it) a

foreign enemy in an hostile manner march through the metropolis of the Kingdom with no other diversion than the repeated huzzas and loud acclamations of the inhabitants, who shewed no other concern for the Revolution but what might express their satisfaction and approbation. In a word all things conspired to testify their joy on this occasion.

The King being prevented (as I formerly hinted) from withdrawing himself as he intended on Sunday evening, returned in his Coach, preceded by several gentlemen bare headed on horse-back, and followed by some of his Guards sent by the Lords of the Council and Peers for that purpose; came back to White Hall through the City, not without some demonstration of rejoycing expressed by bonfires and shoutings, and was yesterday publicly at Mass, solemnized in his Chapel by some of the Spanish ambassadors priests, where there was an unexpected confluence of Papists, insomuch that it was difficult to come near his person; of which the Prince having intelligence, sent the Lords Macclesfield and Delamere with a very sharp Letter to his Majesty, signifying that he expected his immediate departure to Ham (I suppose in Essex [a]); nor were the Peers wanting in expressing their resentment of that action in so improper a conjuncture: but the King desiring to know if he might not be permitted to retire whi-

[a] It was Ham House in Surrey.

ther he pleased, the Lords after some debate assented to his liberty, whereupon this morning he went in his barge to Gravesend attended, in boats, by about a hundred of the Princes Foot: two hundred of his Horse being likewise sent to meet and convey him to Rochester: all the Kings soldiers (if they may be so accounted) being commanded to places assigned by the Prince, some distance from the City. The Dutchmen mounting the guard at Whitehall and the other usual places. The Earl of Feversham who went from the King to Windsor yesterday, to invite the Prince hither, was detained for High Treason. Amongst the many persons now in custody, Sir Roger le Strange is not of the least eminency. I could not write to you last Post as I promised, and can now only add that I am

Sir, Yours &c.

LETTER CCCLXXXVIII.

. . . . . *to the Rev. Francis Roper. The Death of King James the Second.*

[MS. COLE, BRIT. MUS. VOL. LIX. p. 189.]

*** The account of the discovery of this Letter by Dr. Richard Farmer, within the lining of the cover of an old Book, has been given in the Introduction to Letter CCCLXXXII. King James the Second died at St. Germains on the 6th. of September 1701.

SIR 11th September 1701.

I HAVE your kind Dispatch of the 9th currant

now before me, to which it is not necessary to say noe more then that I shall be abundantly satisfyed with the four Coats quartered in the Seal formerly sent to you, with the addition of the Mitre on the toppe, or where else the Herauld thinks it proper to be placed.

That sad news, which some of King James his enemies have coveted and frequently published, is certainly come to passe. The Account of his last sicknesse and decease is thus described by one of your Society. He sayth, the beginning of his last sicknesse was by a fainting fit, which lasted half an hour: afterwards he vomited clodds of blood in great quantity, and after that streams of pure blood: when that stopped, a little feaver seized him, but such as did not give much disturbance to his Physicians, till on Saturday he was pressed with a drowsinesse, which approached almost to a lethargy. Blisters, nor any thing else they could apply, were of force to rouse him. In this condition he continued till Tuesday, and then he came to himselfe, and was verie sensible of his condition, and thereupon he desired, and did receave the Sacrament. As a preparatory to it he asked pardon of all whom he might have any ways injured; at the same time he forgave all the world, the emperor, the P. of O., his daughter, and every one of his subjects who had designedly contrived, and contributed to his harms and misfortunes. You see Sir, he dyes with the same resignation and tranquillity

that he lived. Yet when one looks backe on the misfortunes of this afflicted Prince, his life, and the piety of his death, he can hardly forbeare to thinke, that he deserved a more favourable fortune, or refuse him a compassion which may not be safe to expresse here.

Thus our Friend writes from Paris, and with all respects and service to you, and all our Brethren in your Society, I beg leave to rest here, and to assure you that I am, with all syncerity, their and your affectionate friend, brother, and

servant,

W. N.

For the Rev. Francis Roper B.D.
att his Chamber in S^{t}. John's College
in Cambridge.

LETTER CCCLXXXIX.

Queen Anne to Sir George Rooke.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 5015. 5. *Orig.* ENTIRELY IN THE QUEEN'S HANDWRITING.]

*** This Letter was found among the papers of Lord Dudley, Sir George Rooke's representative.

It was upon September the 12th N. S. 1703 that the Emperor and the King of the Romans resigned their right in the dominions of Spain to the Emperor's second son, Archduke Charles, who was thereupon declared King of Spain by the name of Charles the Third. He left for Holland, in order to his Voyage to Portugal, on September the 19th; and, in his way, visited England.

The Gazette Account of this Visit will not be unamusing:

"Saint James's Dec^{r} 31st.

"The King of Spain arrived at Spithead onthe 26th Inst in the afternoon, and had all possible Honours paid to him both from the Fleet and the Town. The next day the Duke of Somerset, Master of the Horse, waited on his

Majesty on shipboard with a Letter and a Compliment from the Queen, acquainting him, that she was come to Windsor in order to receive the Visit that his Majesty had desired to make to her. The next night he lay at Petworth, whither his Royal Highness was come to meet him. The 29th. about 7 in the evening the King of Spain arrived at Windsor; the Duke of Northumberland, constable of Windsor Castle, the Duke of St. Albans, captain of the band of Pensioners, and the Marquess of Hartington, captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, received him at his alighting out of the Coach, and the Earl of Jersey, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's Houshold, lighted him to the stair-head, where the Queen received him: and after he had made his compliment to her Majesty, acknowledging his great obligations to her for her generous Protection and Assistance, he led her Majesty into her bed-chamber, and after a short stay there, his Royal Highness conducted his Catholick Majesty to the apartment prepared for him. He supped that night with the Queen who gave his Majesty the right hand at the Table, (which he with great difficulty admitted) the Prince sitting at the end of the Table on the Queen's side. The next day, his Majesty having notice that the Queen was coming to make him a Visit, he met her at her Drawing-Room door, endeavouring to have prevented her, but her Majesty went on to his Apartments, from whence he led her Majesty to dinner. The afternoon was spent in entertainments of Musick, and other diversions. After Supper he would not be satisfied till after great compliments he had prevailed with the Dutchess of Marlborough to give him the napkin, which he held to her Majesty when she washed. Supper being over, he led her Majesty to her bed-chamber, where after some stay he took his leave of her, resolving to depart next morning, which he did accordingly, and his Royal Highness attended him to the coach-side, the King not suffering him to go any further, by reason of his indisposition. His Majesty went to Petworth this evening, designing to be on shipboard at Spithead to morrow, to which place the Duke of Somerset was commanded by her Majesty to attend him.

Lond. Gaz. Num. 3980. Dec. 30 to Jan. 3. 1703.

On the 5th. of January the King set sail for Portugal; but was driven back by contrary Winds: and it was the 27th. of February before he arrived at Lisbon.

On the 21st. of January her Majesty made the King of Spain's return the subject of an express Speech to her Parliament. The next day she wrote the following Letter:

St James's Jan. the 22d 170¾

You haveing represented that the King of Spain

seem'd desirous upon the first turn of the wind to make the best of his way to Lisbon with such clean Ships as shall be in readynesse for that service, and this matter requireing the greatest secrecy, I think it proper to give you Orders in my own hand to pay the same obedience to the King of Spain, as to the time and manner of his setting saile, and as to the number of Ships which shall be in a readynesse to attend him, as you would do to my self, I am

Your very affectionett freind

For S^r. George Rook. ANNE R.

Of the struggle for the Crown of Spain which followed, the Reader may consult our Histories. Philip finally remained upon his Throne: and Charles the Third of Spain became Charles the Sixth of Germany.

LETTER CCCXC.

William Nicolson Bishop of Carlisle, to Archbishop Wake; a Report of the Pretender's landing in the Highlands.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 6116. p. 39.]

*** Bishop Nicolson is sufficiently known as the author of the "Historical Libraries." He became bishop of Carlisle in 1702. In 1718 he was nominated to the bishoprick of Derry in Ireland; and died Feb. 14th, 1727, five days after he had been translated to the archbishoprick of Cashel. He was a man of great veracity, and a steady friend to the civil and ecclesiastical Government of his Country.

Rose, May 11th 1710.

* * * * *

For two or three days past, we have had a strong

Report (said to be brought from Dumfreze) of the Pretenders being landed in the Western Highlands of Scotland: and the alarm has been increased by orders coming at the same time, to call some Officers sojourning with us, but belonging to regiments in those parts, to their respective posts. I know not how the Yorkshire Red-shanks as we call 'em are disposed; but in these Low-lands, about the ancient Borders, that Gentleman will not find many friends.

* * * * *

LETTER CCCXCI.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake upon the State of the Episcopalians in Scotland.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 6116. p. 39.]

Rose, May 25th 1710.

* * * * *

My chaplain is lately returned from making the grand tour in Scotland; where he found as warm doeings as we have in England[a]. The greatest numbers of the Episcopalians continue under the direction and influences of the exauctorate Bishop of Edinburgh, who is entirely in the interest of the Pretender, and will allow none of his followers to pray for the Queen, notwithstanding that himself owns her title in the Receipts he gives for his Pension. Hence, in most of

[a] This was when the tumults were raised in favour of Dr Sacheverell.

their Meeting-Houses, wherein our Liturgy is used, those Collects and Petitions in the Litany wherein supplications are made for her Majesty and the Royal Family, are mangled and curtailed in a very gross and scandalous manner. And these men are as inveterate enemies to Greenshields[a] as the Assembly itself. They dread the ruin of their own party upon the prevalency of our Common Prayer: and good reason they have for it. There are now a hundred and thirteen Episcopal Presbyters in possession of parochial cures, whereof only eleven are Non-jurors: whereas of the old covenanted race of Presbyterians there are about four times that number, who (tho' they never pray for the Queen, nor have ever taken the Oath of Allegiance to her) are overlook'd and wink'd at by the General Assembly. I doubt not but you have seen the Address which the Moderator and his bretheren sent up on occasion of Lord Glasgow's being again nominated Commissioner; wherein they fairly avow the principles on which their fore-elders built the gude wark of reformation, which (ye ken) were not overburthen'd with the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. This day fortnight the Assembly passed a gracious Act in favour of the Regal Supremacy; which (by a majority of three voices on the question) is allowed henceforward to have a concurrency of powers with those of the Assembly itself. So

[a] Mr. James Greenshields, who was persecuted at that time in Edinburgh by the General Assembly for setting up a Meeting House with English service.

as that the latter has an indisputable authority in appointing Fasts and Feasts. The Crown is also acknowledged to have the like. A mighty point gained.

* * * * *

LETTER CCCXCII.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. Rose Castle escapes a visit from the Rebels.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 6116. p. 61.]

Rose, Nov. 14th 1715.

MY VERY GOOD LORD

YOUR Lordships kindness is very particular, in expressing so great a concern for the safety of so insignificant a creature as I am. The Rebels had indeed once fully purposed (as they acknowledged at Penrith) to have given me a visit, and to that end hovered a whole day on the banks of the river Eden, five miles below Carlisle. But as Providence ordered the matter, the rains had then so swelled the waters there, that they were not fordeable. This preserved my beef and mutton for the present. They sent me word that these provisions were only kept in store for the Earl of Mar; who they said would assuredly be with me in ten days time. His Honour (or Grace) is not yet arrived; and I begin now to fancy that he'll hardly ever bring any great retinue this way. For our last Saturday's advices affirm that he has actually

intrenched himself and his Highland guards at Perth. This shift betokens confusion; and looks like his friend (and our worthy brother) Att[s.] [a] way of counterscarping against your Address. The Devil seems to have left both these heroes in the lurch; and they are now at (the last penny of their fortunes) their wits end.

Our greatest danger, as we think, is from the return of the poor hungry High-landers; should they be shatter'd into parties (as 'tis ten thousand to one but they will be) by General Wills, and left to make the best of their way to their own reckly cells in the Braes of Athol. Some fancy that having heard how M[r] Carpenter has been diverted from following them, they'll immediately march back again (in a full body) thro' this country into Scotland, and there disperse.

I have been so much mistaken in my conjectures relating to these knights errant, that I dare hardly venture to guess any more. Otherwise I should be pretty positive in my opinion that they are under a necessity of engageing with the King's forces; and under as manifest a certainty of being beat by them. They were joined at Lancaster by M[r] Dalson, and other neighbouring papists, to the number (as our best advices tell us) of four hundred: and they would doubtless daily increase. These new confederates, being thus shipped on their desperate bottom, must fight it out; but having only a mob of their pressed

[a] Atterbury's.

tenants to trust to in the day of battle, their hopes of victory cannot be great.

* * * * *

LETTER CCCXCIII.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake: the variety of Reports.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 6116. p. 64.]

Rose, Jan. 9. 1715.

* * * * *

How or when the Rebellion in Scotland will end, God only knows. Our accounts from thence are so monstrously various that no very probable conjectures can be formed upon them. There's no doubt but that (the Dutch troops being now all arrived) the D. of A. will quickly move towards Perth, and the general opinion seems to be that the High-land clans will either thereupon disperse, or (if they make a stand) fight it out most desperately.

As soon as the Scotch Peers are at liberty to come to the Parliament, I shall also venture to leave my charge here; though I never yet had stronger inclinations to be at Westminster than I have at this present.

* * * * *

LETTER CCCXCIV.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. The Rebels defeated.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 6116. p. 67.]

Rose, Aug. 16th 1716.

* * * * *

I KNOW not, my Lord, what to say (or think) of my Northern neighbours. They have been plentifully thrashed; and have given up all their weapons of war except their tongues; and these indeed are still full of deadly poison. If our dragoons (of which we have here great store at present) must be sent back to them for their further correction, I have reason to believe that the numbers of their prisoners will fall short of what they brought in the last campaign; because the Officers seem generally inclined to ease the government of that load, which has hitherto been so cumbersome.

Yesterday's account of Prince Eugene's glorious success in Hungary, sets my mind pretty much at rest. It will probably secure us from Invasions from abroad; and then these little heart-burnings at home, will never prove mortal. I am ever with great sincerity

Your Grace's most obedient
and obliged servant
W. CARLIOL.

LETTER CCCXCV.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. State of Northumberland. Rebel-prisoners brought to Carlisle for trial.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 6116. p. 67.]

Sept. 6th 1716.

* * * * *

I WILL not presume to enquire who the gentleman is, that met with so much disloyalty and discontent in these parts of England, in his late travels from Edinburgh to London: but I will venture to hope that he took the Eastern road, and came not into the diocese of Carlisle. There are indeed some murmurings and complaints in the County of Northumberland, where a great many widows have lost their husbands, mothers their sons; and (what occasions the most general outcry of all) tenants their landlords. 'Tis not above five or six years, for example, since Lord Derwentwater fined all his tenants; and now upon the preposterous exit of that rash youth, his innocent vassals are in daily expectance that the King (or the House of Commons) will call upon them for another general fine. This sits heavy on their skirts; and no wonder if it creates a little uneasiness. But along the Western marches we have no such murmurings. We pretend to an universal fealty and allegiance to his Majesty King George.

This evening about thirty of the rebel prisoners (from Edinburgh) are expected at Carlisle; and are to be followed by other two bands of their fellows. What's the true cause for sending these wretches hither concerns not us to know; but we are willing to believe that the unsullied reputation of our singular integrity has brought upon us the burthensome honour. 'Tis now very evident to all the world, say we, that the Government knows who are its most trusty friends; and justly reposes a greater confidence in the free-holders of Cumberland than in all the Lairds betwixt this and the Frith of Forth. I truely believe and hope, that my neighbours and countrymen will true verdict give according to their evidence; at least I will undertake for them, that they'll look these rebels more confidently in the face than they did their confederates about ten months ago. Lord Chief Baron Smith and Baron Scroop (we are told) are two Lords of the Justiciary that's formed upon this occasion; and four more are said to be appointed to accompany them. A Solicitor is already arrived for the management of the evidence.

* * * * *

LETTER CCCXCVI.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. State of the Prisoners at Rose Castle.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 6116. p. 69.]

Rose, Sept. 13. 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD

'In my last I acquainted your Grace that we were in daily expectance of a good number of Northern captives; and that we look for their being followed by several Lords of Session. The prisoners are arrived, and as we hope *in salvâ custodiâ*. But we are now assured that our Judges are to come from another quarter. 'Tis confidently said that none durst try them at Edinburgh; nor will any that tries them here dare to return thither.

Notwithstanding the fair Account which your Grace has had of the present peaceable disposition of the good folks of that country, if we believe the officers who brought the rebels hither, they are very ripe for another Insurrection.

I heartily wish that we may have a gaol-delivery here as soon as possible. Not that I have any jealousy that the prisoners are like to make their escape, but because I apprehend, that (if justice be not executed speedily) many of them will leave the world in a less exemplary way than they ought to do. The Castle (where they are lodged) is a moist and unwholesome

place; and our garrison is so thin, that the Commandant is forced, for security, to crowd them all into three Rooms. Then the greatest part of them sleep upon bare straw. For though they are generally desirous and sufficiently able to hire beds, the townsmen are loath to let their goods be carried into a place where they are sure to rot. In this miserable state have most of these mad creatures been for four or five days past; several roaring in fits of the gout or gravel. Nor can I see any appearance of their being relieved. These complaints are very uneasy to me.

My Lord, I am hourly pestered with addresses and sollicitations from the friends and advocates of these unhappy wretches; who will not believe me when I tell them, that I have neither power or inclination to do them any service; but renew their suit every morning with as much earnestness as if no denial had been given them.

Amongst the rest the bishop of Edinburgh warmly recommends to my *counsel, direction, and favour*, a son of his who is one of our guests. This youngster was taken in actual rebellion at the battle of Dumblain; and the father does not pretend to say that he repents of that sin. On the contrary he gives broad hints of his being perswaded that his child now suffers for righteousness sake. He will not so much as undertake to keep the boy out of harm's way for the future, should he now be set at liberty; but rather intimates

that his present affliction renders him a proper object of all the good offices that I am capable of doing him.

I have dealt very plainly with this mischievous prelate; who (by the way) bemoans the compleated desolation of the Scottish-Church and the insufferable hardships (*unde et a quo?*) of her poor clergy. I have let him know, that I will no more bestir myself for his son, than I would for my own in the like circumstances; but leave him entirely to God's mercy and the King's.

I am ever Your Grace's
most dutiful Servant
W. CARLIOL.

LETTER CCCXCVII.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. Condition of the rebel prisoners. Jacobite Congregations in London.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 6116. p. 70-7.]

Rose, Sept 20th 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD

* * * * *

As to our Northern prisoners, they seem to be as little uneasy as 'tis possible for men to be in their circumstances. I had lately a message from them, in answer to the one which I had sent to them, acquaint-

ing me that they are all members of the established Church of England; and therefore repeated their former request for a Chaplain, with whom they would unanimously join in prayer for King George, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the whole Royal Family. If they are sincere 'tis pity but they were all pardoned; and as many of the disciples of the late Leicestershire S^{t} Paul hanged in their stead. However I thought it became me to judge the most charitably of them, and to grant their petition. I have also procured leave for them to walk (by three or four at a time and under a sufficient guard) in the open air; on the batteries of the Castle, to prevent distempers breeding amongst them through the narrowness of their confinement. Notwithstanding these civilities I still hope that we shall approve ourselves as dutiful to our Sovereign as we are kind and charitable to our distressed neighbours; leaving them to the King's mercy, in which some of 'em have already taken refuge. The greatest part indeed are such as voluntarily (though somewhat late) surrendered themselves; there being but a very few that were taken prisoners at Sheriff-Mure.

Our Yesterday's Prints talk of a detachment of thirty prisoners from the Savoy, who are said to be actually on their march hitherwards in order to appear as witnesses at our approaching Gaol-Delivery. If this proves true it cannot be long before we shall

hear of a Commission's being issued to the Judges. This is what we all wish for. I can truely assure your Grace, that the share which I have in our present sufferings, is very burthensome both in mind, body, and estate. Besides I am very apprehensive that the Government will suffer by delays. Several of the chief offenders are detained at Edinburgh; and others of note have been sent back since they came thence. Yesterday Mr Stuart (brother to the E. of Murray) was carried off; and more are expecting to follow. This gives occasion for seditious insinuations; as if only a few beggars were to be sacrificed for the transgression of their Lairds.

Nothing of this kind, my Lord, appears so dreadful to me, as the account I have of the bare-faced Impudence of your Jacobite Congregations in London. The marching of the King's forces to and fro' through the most factious parts of the Kingdom, must (in time) put an end to our little country squabbles: but your fifty Churches on [a] Non-Jurors could never be thus daring, were they not sure of the protection of some high Ally. Your Grace's health and safety are daily prayed for by

My Lord

Your Grace's most obliged

and obedient Servant

W. CARLIOL.

[a] *qu.* of?

LETTER CCCXCVIII.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 73.]

Penrith, Oct. 4th 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD

I AM not ashamed, but somewhat dangerously exalted in owning myself indebted to your Grace for two very obliging Letters by the last Week's post. The latter was brought to me at Lowther, where I was waiting on Lord Lonsdale, and whence I am returning homewards.

A Gentleman in that neighbourhood is the only Non-Juror (that I know of) in the Diocese: and as he ever joined with us in Prayers for King George, he frankly declares that he neither is (nor ever was, nor will be) of any other Communion than mine. If any of the Itinerant Missionaries of the new Rebellious sect, priest or deacon, shall be sent into these parts, I defy him to gather a Congregation of so many as two or three. My good brother may do service in publishing Replies to their Pamphlets: but paper Charms will never conjure down this Spirit. The Parliament, or the King's Dragoons must do the work.

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Your Grace's
most faithful Servant
W. CARLIOL.

LETTER CCCXCIX.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. Account of the rebel Prisoners continued.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 74.]

Rose, Oct. 8. 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD

IN the hasty Scribble wherewith I troubled Your Grace on Thursday last, I wholly omitted (what seems chiefly incumbent on me) the continuing the Story of our Prisoners at Carlisle. I have very little new on that head. Your Counsels above move so slowly on this point, that our expectations and reasonings upon it are almost wholly at a stand.

It is now confidently reported amongst us, that the Trials are not to come on here till we have a new Sheriff: and the stop that is put to the march of our reinforcement from Preston renders it very credible. I have lately informed your Grace how confidently, and how far I dare undertake for the person now employed in that Office; and I will here venture to add, that he is forty times better affected to King George's Government and the English Constitution than the Gentleman who is said (and believed) to be the petitioner against him. Whoever is our Sheriff, I do heartily hope that the Free holders of our County will behave themselves honestly and dutifully as becomes good

subjects. But I beg that my parole may not be understood to continue if any such change is made.

My Lord, I have never yet conversed personally with any of our Prisoners, notwithstanding all the civilities that are reported in your Prints to be shewn to them by our Commandant and myself. I do not think myself at liberty to do this without leave, considering the domestick relation that I have the honour to bear to his Majesty as his Almoner. Nor do I think it worth the while to sue for a licence. They are daily attended either by my Chaplain, or some of the neighbouring Clergy; who read prayers to them, and give such ghostly advice as they desire. A great many of them, who were most deeply concerned in the Rebellion, seem very penitent and pensive; and I verily hope that in many of them there is a repentance not to be repented of. Some indeed are more cheerful, in a confident assurance of being received to Mercy; as having voluntarily surrendered themselves before their fellow-rebels were entirely vanquished. Even these despair of saving their estates.

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LETTER CCCC.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. Preparations for trying the Prisoners.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 75.]

Rose, Oct. 13th 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD

Your Grace allows me to trouble You upon every Change of the face of our Affairs at Carlisle; and the only ease that I have is in complaining of my afflictions.

On Thursday night last a Squadron of High-Land Witnesses (about twenty eight or thirty) were brought in to us, under a strong guard; and they were followed Yesterday morning by a new Detachment of Advocates, and Writers; a generation of learned men who are commonly so obliging as to make directly for my House. I have been honoured with a visit by one of these already; and I despair not of the like favours from the rest.

This gentleman seems to be pretty positive, that we shall have no Judges nor Advocates on his Majesty's side of the question, from Edinburgh; and that, because the whole Nation is averse to Trials of Scotch criminals in our English Forms. He objects particularly, on this occasion, against the admission of such evidence as is now preparing. *Socii criminis*, he says,

never were admitted in Scotland (he will needs say, never ought to be admitted any where else,) as proper witnesses in a Cause of Blood. Such discourse as this I foresee will raise new speculations amongst those of us who are already too much inclined to grumble. Notwithstanding all which, I have yet so much courage as to hope (and 'tis but just so much) that we shall acquit ourselves like men. The only damping consideration, is, the longer time that's allowed us for cool thinking, the more cowardly we are apt to grow. This was our case twelve months' ago. It may be so again.

For my own part, I do seriously protest to your Grace, that I am under deeper apprehensions of mischief to myself and family from the partisans of these Men, now they are in hold, than I was when I saw them in a full march and battle array.

I have procured for them daily prayers, and weekly sermons; and have contributed towards the conveniences of their lodgings, which are now (as far as their numbers will admit) sufficiently easy. Yet all these services are spilt upon the ground; because I will not personally preach up their innocence. This is the present state of Carlisle, and of

Your Grace's most obedient Servant

W. CARLIOL.

LETTER CCCCI.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. A Conspiracy among the Prisoners at Carlisle.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 80.]

Rose, Nov. 15. 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD

ON Monday last I had a pressing Letter from our Mayor and Recorder, desiring me to come forthwith to Carlisle, and to assist them (and the Chanc.) in taking Informations against three persons engaged in a Conspiracy for surprizing the Guard at the Castle, and setting all the State-Prisoners at liberty. The summons was immediately complied with. We have sent the depositions of the witnesses, and the examinations of the persons accused to Lord Townshend. The matter of fact is proved beyond all possible contradiction; and is briefly this. One Mr. Murray, an accomplished young gentleman, came hither with his brother and some other relations (who are prisoners) and has continued here in great reputation ever since. A few days ago, he was observed to countenance a profligate sharper, newly gotten out of jail, a very unsuitable companion for one of his parts and education. This gave the Commandant the first occasion for jealousy. Last Sunday at night he and this new comrade were dogged into an Ale-house, kept by the late jail-

er, and where the said jail-bird still sojourned. Here they were joined by one of our Chelsea invalids, who was the chief undertaker in the Plot, and gave an account in what ripeness it was for execution. The Guard was (this very day) to be mounted by a select tribe of the Chelsea-men; and a sufficiency of brandy was provided for the knocking all those on the head who were not in the secret. An iron bar was taken away, which obstructed the escape of some of their friends: and (in short) all due preparations were made for the effectual carrying on the work.

This Scene has put us all into new convulsions. We know not whom to trust; and begin to be afraid of our very shadow. For my own part, I know not that I was ever under so much astonishment in my whole life. Mr Murray has been frequently at my House, being recommended by (his uncle) Sir James Dalrymple, and other persons of quality in North Britain; and I was so far enamoured with the modesty of his conversation, and the good improvement which he seemed to have made in his travels beyond the seas, that I should as readily have ventured my life in his hands, as in any stranger's that I ever beheld.

This accident, my Lord, and the renewed assurances that we have another band of Prisoners moving this way from Lancashire, inclines my brother to wish that his Sheriff's staff may be put into the hands of

any one of the three gentlemen who (as the Prints tell us) are returned to his Royal Highness from the Barons of the Exchequer for the service of this County. The next Post will probably settle that point to his satisfaction. And, if he is gratified by its being taken from him, I hope neither your Grace, nor any others will think me responsible for his successor.

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Your Grace's most obedient servant

W. CARLIOL.

LETTER CCCCII.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. More Preparations for Trial.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 82.]

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Nov. 24th 1716.

We are now, my Lord, impatiently waiting for the arrival of our Judges; who are like to have their hands full, especially if (as is confidently reported) the Prisoners put themselves severally upon their respective trials. Their friends I am told, have a whole Impression of "The State of their Case," which is supposed to be kept in store against the coming of the King's Justices, and then intended for public Instruction and Admonition. A gentleman who glanced it over, and is well able to judge of the performance, assures me that 'tis shrewdly enough contrived; and

will be apt to raise scruples in wiser heads, than are commonly found on the shoulders of Jury-men upon Life and Death. He encouraged me to hope for a Copy of this printed Pamphlet, which he said might easily be conveyed in a post-letter. I greedily expected it all the day yesterday, and some hours this morning; but hitherto in vain. I fancy they are shy in communicating it, till it comes to be done all at once; and perhaps before that happens, care may be taken to lodge the whole cargo in other hands. I have just now given some directions to that purpose; which will be carefully enough observed.

We have one witness, with the very sight of whom (and much more with what I daily hear of his conversation) I am very much offended. 'Tis the rev^{d} M^{r} Patten; Paul's fellow-prisoner in bonds, but another sort of a martyr. This fellow's character is so notorious in this county, that the Kings Cause must necessarily suffer by his being produced as an evidence: nor, can I imagine (unless there be some of the Lancashire prisoners to be brought hither at last) of what use he can be, were he never so clean. All our prisoners save one, are brought from the North side of the Frith of Forth, where he never came.

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LETTER CCCCIII.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. Upon the same. The seizure of M^r. Murray. &c.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 83.]

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I SEND your Grace inclosed the State of the Scottish Court of Justiciary's Case; which 'tis said will be the first Plea offered by our Prisoners in demurrer to the Jurisdiction of these Extraordinary Commissioners. This Plea might perhaps be regarded, if any one instance could be given of a Court's doubting of its own sufficiency in point of Power. Of the very same efficacy are all arguments on the immoveable (fundamental) conditions of a bargain, never to be violated (on any emergency whatever) by the joint forces of King and Parliament.

The poor young Gentleman that attempted the release of his friends out of our Castle, is seized by a Messenger; notwithstanding that he was bound over to the approaching Assizes (and bailed) by the Justices of the Peace, or some of them, who took the informations against him. He is so much indisposed by an ulcer in his larinx, that all the little physicians we have, agree that a London journey will kill him. And yet, I am told, he is set forward.

There can now be no danger of any one's flying from us without wings, since all the avenues through-

out the English and Scotch Borders are abundantly lined with troops of dragoons and companies of foot. A noble Lord has indeed withdrawn himself out of this neighbourhood upon the approach of the Judges; being so wise in his generation as to decline the hazard of bringing a national vengeance upon his head, or his House: but the man that has but one house, must be forced to abide in that, whatever perils surround him.

The hopes your Grace gives us of the speedy removal of our Jacobite Invalids are extremely grateful to us all; though as yet our Commandant has received no orders concerning them. There was never a pack of such hell-hounds in any English garrison. They are not only professed champions for the Pretender and the Duke of Ormond, but lewd to the last degree; and having no Officer amongst them of any higher quality than a Serjeant, there are no bounds to their extravagancies.

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LETTER CCCCIV.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. The opening of the Judges Commission.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 85.]

Carlisle, Dec. the 8th 1716.

YESTERDAY the Judges opened their Commission

here, three of them (and about eight or ten of the neighbouring Justices of the Peace, who were joined with them) being present in Court. Baron Price, being seized with a fit of the gout, kept his chamber. Mr. J. Tracy gave a short, but very handsome Charge, wherein he set forth the contents of the Act of Parliament that supported the Trials of the prisoners brought hither from Edinburgh; with the legality and reasonableness whereof all the Judges of England were so well satisfied that every one of them had (in their turns) sat on the trials of Scotchmen (and their conviction) in Middlesex, Surrey, &c. He observed that the Government had now pitched on Carlisle, as being the nearest to the friends of those that were to be arraigned; so that no just complaint could be made of their witnesses being at a great distance, &c. There was also, he said, a special regard had to the loyalty of this County; where, if any where, honest Juries might be hoped for.

Thus far we have pretty well answered those kind hopes. Three bills were immediately preferred against twelve of the prisoners; and *billa vera* found against eleven of them. The twelfth was one Mr. Maul, chamberlain or steward to the Earl of Panmure; against whom no peremptory, but a little hear-say evidence (which amounted to nothing) was produced. And indeed nothing less than Ignoramus seemed to be expected by the Manager for the King; so that the

putting the matter on such an experiment looks mystical.

Both Judges and Solicitor General give fair encouragement to plead guilty: and I hope a great many will venture upon what they understand to be a parole of honour in the Government. The only scruple is, that Conviction forfeits their Estates; and some of them, unwilling to live without their Lairdships, seem resolved (on that score) to run the risque of neck and all. What they have heard of the hanging of three or four at Preston (this last Summer) after they had been thus prevailed with to condemn themselves, sticks in the gizzards of several.

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The Court is just now (at eleven) going to arraign those against whom Bills are found; and 'tis hoped that most of them will plead guilty.

LETTER CCCCV.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. The Trials.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 87.]

Carlisle, Dec. 10th. 1716.

MY GOOD LORD

I AM going home this morning upon promise to return on Saturday; when the Trials of our prisoners first begin. The Grand Jury goes on without

any rub, finding Indictments a round dozen every day. We doubt whether the Petit-Jurors will equally answer expectation; since the Sheriff (tho' there was no manner of occasion for it) has blended so many Dissenters with the Church-men, as will endanger an untoward fermentation.

Last Saturday night one of the clergymen in town, whom I had appointed to read prayers at the Castle, acquainted me that some of the prisoners (against whom bills of indictment were found) desired to receive the Sacrament yesterday: which he demurred to till he had my orders in the matter.

I wished him to return to them forthwith, and to make those demands which were requisite for their satisfying him of the state of their Faith; and withall, to let them know, that (tho' I was far from ensnaring any of them into a needless hazard of their lives or fortunes, yet) I hoped that, as they had joined in prayer for King George, as many of them as were truly conscious of their guilt, would sincerely repent of their rebellion against him. I wished him also to hint, that confession would be the most likely way of obtaining mercy both from God and the King. He brought me thanks from them all; and assurances from some (who have no estate to forfeit) that they will throw themselves entirely upon his Majesty's mercy, by pleading Guilty. The landed Lairds hoped that I would give them leave to endeavour their exculpation

(as they called it), to preserve a livelihood to themselves and families; protesting that, if the Government seized all they had, they'd as soon be hanged as be starved. What reply can one make to these miserable creatures?

Last night I was visited by the two Solicitors General (of England and Scotland) and Mr Carter the Kings Counsel. Whilst they were with me Mr. Kettleby (Counsel for the Prisoners) brought me compliments from a friend in your neighbourhood.

By some hints that were given amongst these combatants on both sides, I guess we shall have a Plea against the Jurisdiction of the Court; or rather a Protestation against the tenor of their Commission, as violating the fundamental Articles of the Treaty of Union. I never yet heard of a Court that failed in asserting its own jurisdiction; and 'twould be an extraordinary sight to have four wise men return hence with a Report, that (having opened this *baga de secretis* at Carlisle) they found nothing but a pig in the poke.

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LETTER CCCCVI.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. The Trials continued.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 88.]

December 13th 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD

I GAVE your Grace a sort of Journal of the two first days work of our Lords of Session at Carlisle; and I hoped to have been as full handed every Post. But the giving of Copies of the several Indictments to the parties concerned, a week before their respective Trials, obliges the Judges to direct the Prosecutions to be brought on more slowly than they were at the beginning. This expedient is also necessary for the keeping the Jurors themselves in daily employment. So that the King's Solicitors feed these men with Bills, as our Farmers fodder their cattle this hard weather, in small quantities, that the stock of provisions may last the longer.

Yesterday they brought in Ignoramus on a Bill against Mr Burnet, a kinsman of the late Bishop of Sarum's, and one that some time sojourned in his Family. This unhappy man (as thousands more) was swept away with the high tides of Rebellion in his neighbourhood; and surrendered himself at the first opportunity to some of the King's Officers. One of these was produced as evidence against him. But he

could only say that this gentleman was said to be one of those that fell into the hands of a Party under his command; though he could not positively swear that he was so; nor did he remember whether he was taken, or came in voluntarily. Whether the Managers for the King will desire that this gentleman may continue a while longer in custody (as Mr Maul, in the same condition) 'til more prompt witnesses can be had, or he'll shortly be discharged, I can't tell. His countrymen, generally, give him a fair character.

Others daily plead Guilty; begging, in order thereunto, to be forthwith arraigned. Two of these were told by the Chief Baron Smith (with the austerity of a Roman Senator) that — they who threw themselves upon the King's mercy, would probably find mercy; and that they that insisted on justice, would as probably have justice, for their lot. Notwithstanding all which caution, 'tis yet confidently believed, that the Counsel for the Prisoners will (on Saturday next) offer a Plea against the jurisdiction, or legal establishment of the Court; which may happen to provoke. Another crotchet is talked of —— the challenging the arrays of all our Juries (*Grand and Petit*) as returned by an improper Officer; because, forsooth, our present Sheriff is Collector of the King's Customs at Whitehaven. What law there is for support of such a Plea I know not. That the same person may be employed in several Trusts, is certainly agreeable to ancient and mo-

dern practice in his Majesty's Court at St James's: and I see no reason why the like Prerogative should not hold good for pluralities of the same nature in the Country. I design, God willing, to attend the Debates of that day; and your Grace shall have the result of them.

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LETTER CCCCVII.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. Trials continued.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 90.]

Carlisle Dec. 15th 1716.

THE Scotch Advocates who are assigned Counsel for the Prisoners, have all along threatened the Court with (what they call a Declinatour) a Plea of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction: but 'tis hop'd that this Morning, the first and only opportunity they have of putting such a design in execution, the matter will be dropp'd. To this purpose the Judges adjourned from Thursday to this day; and both that evening and yesterday conferences have been had betwixt the King's Solicitors and them. What is agreed on (if any thing) I have not yet learned; but may perhaps learn before the Post goes out, early enough to give an account in the end of this Paper.

Amongst the gentlemen that have pleaded Guilty, there's one Mr Murray (of Auchterlyse, whose brother attempted to corrupt the Guard) much commended for a modest speech at the bar, which concluded with words to this purpose —— that though he had reason enough to believe that a Jury might acquit him, he had rather live under the comfort of the King's mercy, than the load of a guilty conscience.

Sir Thomas Calder (a young baronet, who has given in the same plea) declared that he never had any aversion to the present Government, but being a vassal to the M. of Huntley, he thought himself obliged to follow the fortunes of his land-lord; of which he now most heartily repents; and threw himself entirely at the feet of his liege Sovereign.

The others of chief note are Col. Urquart, and Mr Casnegie of Tinhaven.

On Thursday the Grand Jury brought in a third Ignoramus, for want of sufficient evidence, in a bill against one Mr Spance: and 'tis said, that not only in this, and in that on Mr Burnet's bill, but in most of their other verdicts, they have been entirely unanimous... I am sure they have thus far acted to the satisfaction of the Judges. I heartily wish the Petit Juries may deserve the like approbation, and I hope they will. However, 'tis a comfort to see so many laying hold of (their only anchor of hope) the King's

mercy, and the appearance there is of others reaching at it.

The Declinatour is declin'd. The Prisoners thus far strive who shall be foremost in pleading Guilty. Eleven have this day put in that plea; and no appearance yet of any one man's standing his trial, saving one Mr Mackenzie of Frazerdale, whose story (as it has been given to me) is too long to report. So that, upon the whole, our Judges are like to have much shorter work than they expected.

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LETTER CCCCVIII.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. The Trials continued.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 91.]

Rose Dec. 17th 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD

My Saturday's Postscript was written in such haste, that I had not time to acquaint your Grace, that the honour of your Letter came to my hand when I was with Mr Justice Tracy; who had acquainted me with a like application, in favour of the bishop of Edinburgh's son, made to himself by the Earl of Caernarvon. Two such Advocates were soon agreed to be

worth a whole Threeve of them from the North; and thereupon I had leave to send for the young fellow to the bar; where he presently appeared; desired to be immediately arraigned; and (that being granted) pleaded Guilty. This he did in so becoming a manner, and so good an appearance of a true penitent heart, that the Judge promised to represent his case favourably to his Majesty; whose mercy he confidently relies upon. I had never seen the young man's face before; but was not a little pleased with his modest behaviour.

The Scottish Counsel are very impatient, for want of an opportunity to open their portmanteaus; wherein they are said to have brought many and large volumes of Records, for the ascertaining of the legal privileges and immunities of the ancient Kingdom. Several of them open very loud on this occasion: but the most obstreperous is reported to be one Mr Graham a person of great learning and eminence. He is the Kings Judge of the Admiralty in Edinburgh; and in the warmth of his zeal has procured leave to be of Counsel for the Prisoners, on purpose to dispute this point: which he declares he'll maintain to the hazard of his very life, as well as his fortunes. The Judges seem to hope that they shall be able to ward off this Argument. And indeed the Solicitor General and the rest of our English Counsel, on the crown side, appear as loath to engage in it.

Mr Mackenzie of Frazerdale (against whom an Indictment was found by the Grand Jury on Saturday last) seems to be the likeliest person to bring on the debate. This Gentleman's case has been so variously represented, that (without a formal Trial) nobody can tell what to make of it. Some stoutly affirm, as himself does, that he never bore arms in the Pretender's camp; that he was carried prisoner into Perth; and thence made his escape before the battle of Dumblain. Others say, that (upon a family disgust) he did freakishly join the Rebels at first; but saw his error pretty early, and stole off to the Duke of Athol. His Grace strongly avows his just claim to remission, or rather an acquittal; and has sent Lord James, now Lord Tullibardin to solicit his cause. On the other hand, Lord Lovat has seized the life-rent of his estate, and will probably be desirous to continue in possession.

I have inclosed a List of all that had Bills found against them by the Grand Jury, when I came away on Saturday in the evening; to which I believe I may add Brigadier Campbell, a Bill being preferred against him that day. This unfortunate man was in no engagement; and had not been four days in Scotland, when he was taken in one of the Western Islands. He has been in Foreign Service (under the Czar, the Venetians, &c.) from his youth; and I dare parole for him, if the Government sends him back to the

Adriatick coast, he'll never petition for another return into his native country.

I am

Your Grace's most obedient servant

W. CARLIOL.

LETTER CCCCIX.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. The closing of the Trials.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 97.]

Rose Dec. 24th 1716.

MY VERY GOOD LORD

SINCE the last Post nothing has come from Carlisle worth the reporting; save what happened on Saturday too late for me to mention. The Judges were pleased to dismiss the Grand Jury with very obliging acknowledgements of the faithful discharge of their Trust; so that no more of the prisoners are like to have any Bills preferred against them, though near thirty are as yet untouched.

Two Gentlemen of the name of Stuart were the last against whom any bill was found; and Mr. Solicitor acquainted the Court, that (though these were hurried hither with their companions, yet) they were so far from bringing any guilt along with them, that he should think himself obliged to sue for a recompence from the Government for their good services. They

are said to have been sent out by the Duke of Athol, to hinder several from joining in the Rebellion, and to have done it effectually; but were not, it seems, in a condition to set their matters in a fair light, till they were brought as far south as Carlisle. Here we live in a clear Air.

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Dec. 27th.

My Lord, the foregoing page was just finished on Monday last when I was surprised with a visit from the two Solicitors General (of England and Scotland) and all the Kings Counsel; who having that day at their own disposal, very kindly disposed it in dining with me.

At their return in the evening they found that Brigadier Campbell (whom they thought the most likely person to stand his Trial) had slipped through the gaoler's fingers, and was gone off. I was much encouraged to hope that this gentleman would plead guilty. His flight, and the manner of it, is yet a mystery; but his keeper is shrewdly suspected to have been privy to the plot.

All the four Judges have had Copies of Master S. Douglas's case; and are inclineable enough to give credit to its contents. The man's misfortune was great in his unmannerly receipt of the transcript of his Indictment at the bar; which was taken to be the effect of a peculiar stubbornness, and his being hard-

ened in his iniquity. But they are I believe convinced that the awkwardness of his mien (on that occasion) did not proceed from any want of a proper sense of his condition. I cannot well apprehend that above a couple will be executed[a].

I am far from being in right keeping for an immediate Journey with the Judges. I want to be recruited in some particulars where they abound. 'Tis very probable that they may leave us tomorrow, for I am just now told that their Petit Jury (by Judge Tracy's special direction) brought in the only person they have to try, Not Guilty.

Your Grace's ever obedient servant.

W. CARLIOL.

LETTER CCCCX.

Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. The forbearance shewn in the Prosecutions.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 99.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD

If in the last Letter wherewith I troubled your Grace I did not acknowledge the receipt of your Memorial in favour of Bishop Douglas's son; 'twas

[a] Whilst the Trials were going on at Carlisle, His Majesty King George the First was in Hanover. In one of his Letters, Dec. 20th. 1716. Bishop Nicolson says, of the Prisoners who had pleaded Guilty, "They seem unanimously to long and pray for the King's happy return; hoping that he will thereupon spread his royal mantle of Mercy over them all. I cannot help saying AMEN to the prayer."

an omission for which I beg pardon. I had formerly the very same from himself: and so had the Judges, whom he had liked to have provoked by his clownish behaviour at the Bar. The man's a blunt well-meaning fellow of a Traitor; and (were any to be executed) has a fair plea for mercy.

Both the Judges and the King's Counsel were directed to be particularly indulgent to Sons that were led by their Fathers, and Servants that followed their Masters, into the Rebellion; and therefore several who pleaded guilty, had no sentence of death passed upon them.

Now this man and the Bishop of Edinburgh's son, were as duely trained up to a revolt against King George by their respective parents, as ever mosstroopers' children were bred to stealing: which I think brings them as fairly within this rule, as if the two Prelates had galloped before them into the battle.

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Your Grace's ever obedient servant

W. CARLIOL.

LETTER CCCCXI.

The Chevalier de S^t. George to his Consort, the Princess Clementina.

[FROM A TRANSCRIPT IN PRIVATE POSSESSION.]

*** The Editor is informed that another Copy of this Letter, in the hand writing of M^r. Edgar the Pretender's secretary, exists among the Papers which formerly belonged to the Cardinal of York.

The Princess Clementina was the third daughter of Prince James, the eldest son of John Sobieski King of Poland. Her mother was the daughter of the Duke of Neuburgh, the eldest branch of the Palatine Family. She was married to the Chevalier de S^t^. George in the month of August 1718: and brought him two sons. The Chevalier and his Consort were, at this time, living in Rome.

September the 17. 1726.

NOTWITHSTANDING the bad success of the many steps I have taken to convince you of my affection and tender regard, my compassion for you encreases in proportion with the misfortunes I see your Separation from me exposes you to. The circumstance of my departure from Rome with our children very speedily, ought to make a feeling impression on you: I am sure it raises in me all the loveing sentiments I ever had for you, and presses me to sollicite you anew with all the earnestness possible not to lett slip soe favourable a conjuncture of returning to your family, assuring you at the same time, that you will find in me a fond husband, ready to forgett what is past, and wholly intent on provideing for your happiness and tranquillity for the time to come.

Consider, I beseech you my dear Clementine what you owe to God, to your self, to me, to our children, and to the world; reflect on it seriously, and it will be impossible for me to believe you can hold out any longer in a resolution that draws consequences after it, for which you will ever after be accountable to God and Man. I flatter myself the more that you will noe

longer persist in it, that I had yesterday from the Popes own mouth that the only motive you ever laid before his Holyness to justifie your separation from me, was, that I gave my son a Protestant Governor. Since I as Father and King am solely accountable for his education, I hope that after serious reflection you will think it just and fitting to submitt in that to my judgement and conscience. But if, as God forbid, you should be resolved to remain always separated from me; I will send Sir William Ellis to inform you of the measures I shall take for your maintenance in a Nunnery, with the regrett of not being in a condition to suit that to my inclination, but to my powere ability. Whatsoever be the event, Madam, I shall have the comfort of having done my part, and complyd with my duty, since I omitted nothing that might prevent your misfortune, in the midst of which you shall always find in me, sentiments that are becoming a Christian, a Husband, and a King.

(Signed) J. R.

It was not till two months after the writing of this Letter that the Princess retired to the Nunnery of S^t^. Cæcilia: whence she is stated to have repeated her reason for the separation in Letters to the Pope and to Cardinal Paolucci. The Chevalier upon this, in defence of himself, published a Memorial in French, with two Letters which he had written to the Princess. These were, soon after, translated into English; with an Introduction, in which jealousy was assigned at least as an ingredient of the Princess's reason. It is there stated that the Chevalier had become enamoured of a lady, the wife of a Colonel Hay of the Scotch Guards, whom he afterwards made Earl of Inverness; and that this lady, who was of a

temper to sacrifice every thing to her ambition, had introduced M^r. Murray her brother, whom the Chevalier created Earl of Dunbar, to be the Tutor of his son. M^r. Murray it is added had been a member of Queen Anne's last Parliament, and was one of the Commissioners for settling the Commerce between England and France at the Treaty of Utrecht.

The Princess Clementina died at Rome Jan. 18^th 1735, aged thirty three years and six months. A particular Account of the Ceremonial at her Interment, with the history of her life prefixed, was published there in the following year, intitled " Parentalia Mariæ Clementinæ Magn. Britan. Franc. et Hibern. Regin. jussu Clementis XII. Pont. Max." Folio.

THE END.

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